

# LUTHERAN WORLD

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OUR FREEDOM IN CHRIST

JÓSZEF SZABÓ

FAITH AND IDEOLOGY

HANNS LILJE

FREEDOM TO REFORM  
THE CHURCH?

WILHELM MAURER

FREE AND UNFREE SERVICE  
IN THE WORLD

PAUL DAVID

FREE AND UNITED IN HOPE HAROLD DITMANSON

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*My personal greetings to all who will be participating in the Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in Minneapolis! Also to those who cannot personally participate but who nevertheless will help with their thoughts and intercessions that this great Assembly may succeed!*

*We have tried, through the various forms of preparation, to make clear to the Lutheran congregations throughout the world what great significance we attach to this gathering together of the representatives of the Lutheran churches of the world. The main theme of the conference, CHRIST FREES AND UNITES, signifies in fact no less than the willingness to make a new act of confession. What our fathers formulated in obedience to the Word of God more than four hundred years ago must be appropriated by us in new obedience and must be confessed before the world of today. In order to do this, it is necessary not only to gather together the thought of Lutheranism around the world as was done in the preparatory work and as this will be carried out further in the common thinking of the discussion groups. But what is also necessary is a new attitude of commitment to the church of Jesus Christ and its responsibility in the world.*

*Let us earnestly pray God that all this may be granted to us. May he enlighten our minds that we may grasp anew the saving truth in Jesus Christ. And may he equip us with a new spirit of brotherhood and self-sacrifice. If we earnestly bring this petition before the throne of grace, all our Lutheran congregations throughout the world, especially those of the struggling, persecuted and confessing church, will be blessed thereby.*

Hanns Lilje



## Our Freedom in Christ

The New Testament uses the words "bondage" and "freedom" primarily when speaking about the relationship between God and man. In this connection it speaks of man as being unfree in his deepest nature. With this statement the New Testament message sets itself over against heathen Greek philosophy, for which the nature of freedom is autonomy. He is free who is master of himself.

The New Testament does not deny that man has the urge for autonomy, but it says that precisely in exercising his assumed mastery of himself he becomes a slave. This becomes especially clear in the parable of the prodigal son. It is precisely because he wants to be his own master that he loses his freedom.

According to the judgment of the Bible the bondage of man is based in sin. Man is unfree because he is sinful, because despite certain external freedoms he represents a being that is fettered at the deepest level. "Every one who commits sin is a slave to sin" (John 8:34). The tragedy of this condition does not consist primarily in the fact that man sins knowingly and willingly or because of weakness, but in the fact that in his bondage he stands under compulsion to sin. The apostle Paul, in the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, gives striking testimony to this fact: "For I do not do the good I want, but the evil I do not want is what I do"; "I do not understand my own actions. For I do not do what I want, but I do the very thing I hate." If one asks of whom the apostle is speaking, the answer can only be, of himself, that is, of his life both before and after Damascus. To be human means *velle peccare*; and even more than this, *non posse non peccare*.

This bondage is a universal condition, one could almost say a cosmic one. "From the sole of the foot even to the head, there is no soundness in it", as it is said of the people of Israel. And Paul continues (Rom. 3:11 ff.): "No one understands, no one seeks for God . . . no one does good, not even one . . . in their paths are ruin and misery, and the way of peace they do not know." And this is not only a condition of man, but all of creation is "subjected to futility, not of its own will" (Rom. 8:20). "Futility" means that condition in which man is not able to reach the goal which he has set for himself and which he hopes to attain. It signifies the slavery of man.

This bondage is on the one hand determined by fate; it is given to us with original sin; we are "brought forth in iniquity" (Ps. 51:5). But on the other hand it also involves guilt, because man himself, in sinning, chooses it again and again and "yields" himself to it (Rom. 6:19).



This bondage of sin, however, is never described in the New Testament as an abstract condition, but always as the work of Satan. When the New Testament speaks of "evil" (πονηρός) it is hardly clear whether it is a question of impersonal evil or of a personal power. The Gospels speak of the fact that Jesus always saw behind all the misery of man, behind sickness and sin, the destructive power of Satan, and the early Christian church knew that it was "not contending against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places" (Eph. 6:12).

From this bondage there is only one who frees, namely Jesus Christ, and this liberation through him is not a mere psychological process or an illusion, but an all-embracing liberation. "So if the Son makes you free, you will be free indeed" (John 8:36). This is particularly clear in the healing of the sick and in the driving out of evil spirits, which represent both liberation and forgiveness of sins.

The freedom which Christ gives us is understood in the New Testament in three ways: 1. *As freedom from the law* (Rom. 4 and 6). Our Lutheran church understands this freedom in such a way that Jesus freed us not only from the condemnation of the law (Rom. 8:1) but also from its curse (Gal. 3:13) and from its demands (Gal. 3:23-26). We certainly do not pay homage to antinomianism, but we owe the world a joyful proclamation of the freedom of a life in faith through grace. 2. *As freedom from Satan*. Jesus has been victorious over Satan; "the ruler of this world is judged" (John 16:11). 3. *As freedom from death*. The end of human life is no longer death (Rom. 6:21 ff.). Human life is freed from its futility, born anew "to an inheritance which is imperishable, undefiled, and unfading" (I Pet. 1:4, cf. 18).

Liberation through Jesus Christ is totally his work and his gift, and yet it means that at the same time it is our task to "stand fast" in this freedom (Gal. 5:1). No one can serve two masters. Nor can anyone live without a master. He needs someone to serve (Rom. 6:16-22). Thus it could be said that Jesus liberates for bondage. This bondage, however, is the true freedom of a Christian. The New Testament knows no absolute freedom. When it speaks of freedom it shows it to be a deceptive pursuit of Satan's.

The liberation through Jesus is not, however, an end in itself. Jesus frees us for something. For what purpose are we then freed? We are freed for hope (I Pet. 1:3-6); for witness in word and deed (I Pet. 3:1-2); for suffering (I Pet. 4:12-16); for the service of love (I John 3:14, 16-18; Eph. 2:10); for fulfilling the will of God (Rom. 12:1-2); for salvation and eternal life (Rom. 6:23).

But the most important thing has not yet been said. That which is most important is this: Jesus Christ frees us for unity. The Study Document for the Minneapolis Assembly has pointed this out with particular clarity. When we say that Christ frees *and* unites, it does not mean that unity is a postulate alongside of freedom, but that it is a corollary of it. The unifying act of God

in Christ is not added to liberation but rather Christ unites by freeing; by freeing, he becomes the Lord who unites us all. These two acts belong inseparably together, both chronologically and by their very nature. "In Christ Jesus you are all sons of God, through faith. For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:26-28).

When we contrast this with the great and dangerous temptations of our time, then we may well say that Jesus frees us from dangerous loneliness as well as from unhealthy collectivism (I. Cor. 10:16-17; II Cor. 6:14-18), and in a way which both takes the individual seriously and sees him as a member of a fellowship. It is only through this liberation that there arises that which in the New Testament is called *koinonia* and which is completely independent of the number of those who are included in it, something structurally different from the great mass organizations of every age. "For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body" (I Cor. 12:13).

In the period in which we live, however, the liberating and uniting work of Jesus Christ is realized by the Holy Spirit. This is indicated already in the name which the Holy Spirit is given in the Gospel of John, the name of the Paraclete, the Comforter. But the Holy Spirit is the Comforter because he comforts with the Word, that is, with the liberating Gospel.

Jesus also testifies in fact of himself, that "the Spirit of the Lord" had sent him "to proclaim release to the captives" (Luke 4:18, as a quotation of Isa. 61:1,2). This liberation through Christ, this liberation from sin, includes, however, also the disciplining, judging and convincing function of the Spirit. It is the Spirit who, according to John 16:8, "will reprove [convince] the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment". Without this "convincing", through which we at the same time realize the fact that Jesus Christ has won for us righteousness, and that our overlord, Satan, has been judged, there would be no liberation, but "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom" (II Cor. 3:17). Thus the proclamation of the Gospel, the promise connected with absolution, and the administration of the sacraments become instruments of liberation, a liberation which according to Romans 8 in the working of the Holy Spirit extends beyond men to the whole of nature. Also the gathering of those who have been freed into a new people of God belongs in this working of the Holy Spirit, as the salutary antitype of the judgment of Babel, for it is the Holy Spirit who according to Luther's explanation of the Third Article "calls, gathers . . . the whole Christian church on earth and preserves it . . . in the one true faith".

"Lord, by the brightness of Thy light,  
Thou in the faith dost men unite  
Of every land and every tongue."



The phrase "communion of the Holy Ghost" (II Cor. 13:14) in the frequently used benediction is not simply to be understood as a genitive objective; what is meant is not only the Spirit whom we all possess in common. But this phrase is also to be interpreted as a genitive subjective; what is meant is the Spirit who, as the Lord, first effects fellowship among us. Only in belonging to this fellowship, only in this *koinonia*, whose Lord is the Spirit, are those fruits produced which are spoken of in Galatians 5:22.

Thus Jesus' liberating work and his unifying work are closely bound up with each other. Each is his work, and each is inseparably connected with his person. Only in being bound to him can we be free and only in him can we be one. Apart from Christ there is no freedom because there is no sinlessness. But apart from Christ there is also no unity because without him there is no love. Freedom and unity are already real in Christ. They have happened, but they remain nevertheless eschatological realities, which will only be perfected in the *parousia* (Rom. 8:16-26).

This reflection on the chief passages of the New Testament related to the theme of freedom should prepare us for the questions to which we today seek an answer in the life and activity of our church; to the question of the role of baptism in regard to our freedom and unity, and to the question of unity which is established through baptism, through Holy Communion, through the common service of love among those who together name Christ as their Lord.

## Faith and Ideology

In order to arrive at a real clarification of the relationship between faith and ideology, one must first of all beware of the superficial inclination simply to identify the antitheses between East and West with the two entities of our theme. One is not justified in thinking of the spiritual and intellectual conflict of today as though on the one side there were an ideology and on the other side faith, that is, the Christian faith. It would be a totally inadmissible simplification if one were to attempt to understand the confrontation of "faith" and "ideology" in this way. There can be no question of this because, on the one hand, it is an inadmissible simplification to pretend that the West as a whole is the protector of the Christian faith; on the other hand, that which is characterized as "ideology" is so complex that here too it would be necessary to give a more precise and detailed definition. In short: though this antithesis is correct in a way, insofar as we have to deal with an ideology in the East, and indeed with a very powerful ideology, that should not make us overlook the fact that the antithesis between faith and ideology fully exists, of course, in the West as well. We put this at the beginning, so that we may beware of judgments that are too hasty and superficial.

An important movement within the Christian faith like Moral Rearmament, for example, is a movement which boasts of having produced a new ideology. It is obvious that the word "ideology" is meant here in a positive sense. What is meant is a new intellectual system, in this case a type of Christian asceticism. And when MRA, using its own vocabulary, frequently makes the statement that such an ideology could have an influence on the world, it means by the word "ideology" its complex of ideas, which has on the whole a Christian character.

But in the confrontation of faith and ideology it is precisely the polemical note which one cannot fail to hear; for there is a fundamental difference between faith and ideology. In the language of recent Protestant theology, and also of certain areas of present-day philosophy, the difference between faith and ideology is thus defined: "Ideology" is a product of human reflection, similar to what used to be called a philosophy, that is, a complex of ideas which, working from human presuppositions, seeks to master the world, gives an interpretation of the world and of the task of man in the world and perhaps above and beyond this makes statements in regard to society, the nation, the community of nations and perhaps personal ethics, as well. In all this what is basic is that man is the starting-point, and that in addition, he is the canon, the criterion for what is thought.

If we place over against this the word "faith", we mean first of all to refer to the completely different origin of faith. Faith is not the same as an ideology



because it does not take man and human thought as the source of its insights, but—in the case of the Christian faith that is quite unequivocal—revelation, that is, the knowledge which God imparts. Of course that does not mean that no thinking is done in the Christian faith. That would be a naive misunderstanding. It means simply that the source, the authority of the ideas which the Christian faith works out and presents, is not sought in human reflection. Incidentally, Descartes with his well-known formula “*cogito, ergo sum*” [I think, therefore I am] also did not mean that authority is derived from the process of thought itself. For Descartes, who after all was a pious Catholic and who wrote a famous essay on the sacrament of the altar, the whole matter was only an epistemological hypothesis, only an attempt to describe the possibility of human knowledge and to say how human knowledge comes about at all. In this very limited, relative and provisional area what was valid according to Descartes’ intent was the rule “*cogito, ergo sum*”. The fact that I think is the first thing of which I can be certain when I begin to reflect. I repeat, the whole matter was meant as an epistemological hypothesis, as a principle which first opens up to us the possibility of human knowledge within the human sphere.

What set in later was that process of absolutization which can be discovered in most of the important areas of intellectual life in Germany. Thus has come about the absolutization of scientific knowledge, which of course in its own sphere is quite right. The tragedy as far as the history of thought is concerned came about in that moment when scientific knowledge was declared to be the sole legitimate form of knowledge. Something similar happened at certain points in the history of technology, in that certain technical insights, which in their own sphere are of course correct and valid, were absolutized into a *Weltanschauung* which acknowledged no other sources of knowledge than those which could be obtained by means of experiment or statistics. Thus the term “ideology” has come into use, and in the way in which this word is applied today this autonomy of man comes into clear focus. If one adds to this the spiritual legacy of the last two and a half centuries, starting from the great declaration of the autonomy of man at the beginning of the Enlightenment—the attempt to declare man as the measure of all things—then one has approximately the spiritual origin of what we today usually define as ideology; and one has everything which characterizes its formation in the later periods of the history of European thought.

From all this we would distinguish the use of the term “faith”. If in doing so I choose the Christian faith as an example, I ought really for the sake of completeness to add that what I am saying here could in many respects be said also about other religions. But one can certainly draw out particularly clearly from the Christian faith what the distinction between faith and ideology consists in. I said that the Christian’s thinking regarding his faith does not begin with the misinterpreted “*cogito, ergo sum*”, but with the fact that “thus saith the Lord”—“*haec Dominus dixit*”; with the recognition that God has spoken to

the world. The Christian's insights derive therefore from this Word of God, from the fact that God has spoken to the world and is still speaking to it. I think that with these few remarks on terminology I can bring this section to a close. I may point out that what I have said is in its essentials the common property of Protestant theology, broad areas of contemporary philosophy and contemporary thought in general.

But I am not proposing, on the basis of the statements I have just made, to annihilate everything by the name of ideology, but on the contrary I should like first of all to show the superiority of ideology, that is, to point out some indisputable merits of that which we characterize by this expression. And in fact I have chosen as an example precisely the antithesis offered by the great ideology of the East. In it one can with a fair degree of clarity become acquainted with some of the most important merits of a real ideology. And those who start to evade the effort of thinking and look upon this very evasion as an act of their *Weltanschauung* will do well to prepare themselves for the fact that they are from the outset absolutely at the disadvantage of such an ideology and are defenseless in face of it. That comes to light precisely in regard to Marxism, as it is taught today in the East, particularly in East Germany.

Here I must add a word of warning. Of course Marxism is not a unified structure. It appears in very diverse forms. Even its political application is startlingly heterogeneous. What is done in China in the name of Marxism is recognizably different from what is practiced in Russia. The mild way in which communism has attained political domination in certain areas of Asia, as for example in South India, is different from the way—the faithful, loyal way, thoroughly colored by its *Weltanschauung*—in which Marxism is taught by the leading spirits in the German Democratic Republic. That is clear. We must leave these differences aside. We must also for the moment refrain from considering why and in how far this ideology seems to develop political force, where its limits lie and what are its weak spots and also its positive aspects, and attempt in the first place to describe this type of ideology as simply and clearly as possible.

I shall again keep to the area with which I am familiar and refer to the treatise of a modern professor of philosophy at the University of Moscow who is still alive and teaching today, and who has published a book with the revealing title, *Religious Superstition and its Perniciousness*. This title is enchanting in that it leaves not the slightest doubt in regard to the author's intentions. From the title alone everyone can deduce what it is about. As I see and understand it, there are three characteristics which are important for this type of modern Russian philosophy of religion, and which are also in their way impressive and deserving of attention. The first characteristic: an astonishing simplicity of thought and language; the second one: a notable logical precision; the third one: its authoritative character. Let me elaborate this in order.



First: the *simplicity* of the thought which is there expounded. The person who, as a typical member of the Western world, saturated with Western intellectualism, approaches such a study, is at first inclined in his remarkable perplexity to resist this style of writing. For what is there elaborated appears to be incredibly simple. The title alone is sufficiently revealing: *Religious Superstition and its Perniciousness*. No attempt is made to dwell on subtleties. The typical mode of thought of the Western thinker consists after all in protecting himself carefully against every misinterpretation, in elucidating that this or that aspect, which admittedly ought also to become clear, can recede into the background at this point. All these buffooneries, this artificial element of Western intellectualism has completely disappeared. Here quite unambiguous statements are made which at first must be felt to be simple. But when one examines the things again "on second thought" and concerns oneself further with this phenomenon of simplicity in thought and language, one discovers that the positive value is in an astounding simplicity of statement. And at this point already the Western man begins to be more hesitant in making a negative judgment; for there is no doubt about it that this simplicity, this basically unperturbed simplicity, is not among the characteristics of the Western intellectual world, at least not among the marks which are to some extent uniformly characteristic for everyone; on the contrary, in the West the elaborate concept, the involved style, play a peculiar, revealing, perfidious and fateful role.

This faculty of simplicity is of course not in itself a simple phenomenon, and one ought carefully to analyze this, too, in a larger framework. Perhaps one would then come upon the fact which made the greatest impression, for example, upon the German journalist Hans Zehrer on his travels in Russia, namely, that this all appears to be a bit behind time as far as the history of thought is concerned. The impression by which Zehrer summed up his travels in Russia was that all of this was approximately the intellectual and sociological situation of 1905 to which he had returned. For our theme this observation is correct insofar as the leading communist countries are still filled with a naive belief in progress, a belief which is untenable in the West in every respect, the naivety of which is for us frankly illegitimate, and which we cannot for a moment allow as valid after all that has been laid upon us as the fate of the past, and therefore also as a task for the present, dealing with our existence today. That would be one element of the explanation for this astonishing simplicity.

But it seems to me that there is more behind it, that which is bound up with the second characteristic, *precision of thought*. To apply my example again, I would call to mind that I spoke of a book on the philosophy of religion. For the Western reader, the fascinating thing in reading this book is that an area as difficult as religion is treated in a way which would characterize a scientific or mathematical treatise; in other words, that this form of thought, schooled

as it is in modern experimental scientific research, is applied without any pause for critical reflection to an area like religion. The question as to whether this is in fact possible does not arise. I may point out that it is after all not only the theologian who has cause to be sensitive on this point. The historian will have to ask himself to the same extent whether the application of this mode of thought can do justice of the task of the historian. But the precision of this thought is undeniable. It is thought which is schooled in the insights of scientific research, which seeks to think in a mathematically concise and clear and precise way. True, here too there is obviously a slight retardation as far as the history of thought is concerned; for to judge by the way taken by the great scientists and thinkers of our century, it is precisely the nuclear physicist who seems to end unexpectedly in the fundamental considerations of philosophy. This does not yet apply here, but instead we find a thought which is schooled in experiment, in statistics, in physical and mathematical reliability. That precision is not the most conspicuous characteristic in Western statements regarding faith, can, I believe, be added without contradiction at this point as an antithesis.

The third characteristic is almost the most important one: the *authoritative character* of this thought. Such simplicity and precision result namely, in a manner which cannot fail to attract one's attention, in the authoritative character of such statements. And this I must describe most carefully; for this is where the antithesis to Western intellectualism emerges most strongly. Western intellectualism is a kind of thought which is absolutely without obligation. Western intellectualism is non-authoritative thought. And it encounters here an ideological contrast which looks like this: simplicity, precision, authoritative character. If such and such a thing is so, and if it is inevitably so, then one must also inevitably at once draw concrete conclusions. One cannot take note of it like a bit of information which one hears, in reaction to which one leans back, so to speak, in one's intellectual armchair and says, "How interesting" and which leaves one otherwise unmoved. On the contrary, if these premises are correct, they imply at the same time concrete and inevitable demands of men.

Western intellectualism is non-authoritative thought par excellence. In consequence wide areas of Western thought today are not equal to conversation with the ideology of the East. I could dwell on this point. I could call to mind the fact that a book like Helmut Gollwitzer's report from Russia, *Unwilling Journey*, which is so incisive and at the same time so saturated with experience, one of the most incisive books of our generation, contains the sentence, "Intellectualism is today world enemy number one". And this surprising, and really exaggerated remark is directed in his book specifically at what I have attempted to work out here—the non-authoritative character of typical Western thought in this context. If this non-authoritativeness of Western intellectualism holds the field, then it can be said today that the



intellectual conflict is already decided. I could demonstrate this with examples from all over the world. One of the most interesting countries in this respect is, for example, India, whose religious thought is not exactly characterized by the authoritative character of her religious views. And it is highly interesting to observe what happens when this peculiar world of India, which in a certain sense is without profile, is confronted with this absolute claim of Marxist ideology. It is like the collision of very hot and very cold air masses. There arise regular cultural and intellectual tornadoes on a considerable scale.

But I should like at this point to cut off description of what I have called the superior qualities of ideology and just add a few questions which are important for our situation. It will be immediately understood that this type of ideology can develop a power of attraction. What the Western intellectual often understands with such difficulty, namely, why young people feel themselves attracted by such thought, is not so completely inexplicable. What happens when we encounter one of the political prophets of this ideology? That is also not completely impossible to understand. And over against the void, over against absolute non-authoritativeness, such an ideology always has a chance.

That can be said in a cynical way. In Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* one finds the statement—read by many intellectuals—that every doctrine, even a false one, is better than none at all; from this was derived the cynical lack of inhibition for the propagation of ideas which seemed grotesque and exaggerated to normal bourgeois thought but which in spite of this had their effect wherever they encountered such ethereal thinking. This possibility is still there, and the cynic knows how to make the most of it. That is one of the most disgraceful and revealing statements on the nature of man in general. When the Bible includes man's knowledge too in the corruption and fall of man, then this statement seems indeed to be right. The illusion that it is precisely man's understanding which is excepted from the fall as it is portrayed by the Bible is an inexcusable simplification. It can be said also in Christian terms. This is how I explain for myself the remarkable fascination which certain doctrinal utterances of Neothomism in Catholic philosophy hold for educated circles in West Germany. There one has, it seems, clear, reliable statements. One knows where one is. It is a kind of thought which does not dispense with a certain precision of ideas and which explicitly or implicitly asserts the authoritative character of Catholic theology. And here too it is obvious: any answer is better than none.

The difficulty of providing an answer is revealed in that, for example, students from East German universities in conversations with their West German colleagues occasionally have the impression that they do not really know what they think and what they stand for. When the question is asked: "What is the state really?—What is really the freedom which we proclaim?"—it seems that in the sulphuric light of general criticism of all existing institutions

every possibility of a reliable statement on these great fundamental concepts has disappeared.

What does the antithesis between faith and ideology mean then against this background? Again I shall make a few preliminary remarks. A struggle like this is not decided only in books and in lecture rooms; for where there is a genuine spiritual and intellectual struggle all are involved, even those who are quite unaware that they are combatants. So it comes about that in a wonderful way those people take part in this conflict who are simply members of a Christian church and intend to remain so even under the ideology which prevails. Let us give respect to this daily ordeal arising from the antithesis between faith and ideology! After all, ideology is here the doctrine which is officially promulgated. One should participate in May 1st demonstrations in a part of the world ruled by ideology and hear how, from the loudspeaker, from the leading articles in the newspapers, from all other public means of communication, the same stream of prefabricated ideas flows out over the people; how this set of ideas is demanded everywhere as the one which is officially recognized and how universities and other places of instruction uniformly and continually give voice to the same ideological thought. And then one should imagine oneself in the heart and mind of some simple Christian, who would perhaps not understand at all the vocabulary I am using here, and yet, as the philosopher would say, holds his own existentially in the antithesis between faith and ideology. The father who decides that his son shall not go to the youth dedication ceremony participates in this conflict in a way which is quite simple and direct and which inspires respect. This illustration may serve to keep us from regarding that which is at stake as a literary matter, but may make us conscious that in daily intellectual and spiritual decision we must give a definite positive or negative answer.

Now how does the relationship between faith and ideology look against this background? I could recall first of all a concrete occurrence. At the meeting of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches in Hungary last August we received the first eye-witness reports of Christian bishops from China. I cannot forget the report of a wise bishop, the Anglican bishop of Peking, whom I already know from the student Christian movement, and who gave a report on the situation of his church in Peking. He began by saying that the government which ruled China was not Christian but was atheistic by conviction. The government did not believe that there was a God, it believed in the fundamental goodness of man, and it believed that in a hundred years there would no longer be a Christian church. And then he drew the conclusion that in consequence of this the situation was fortunately astonishingly clear. In such a situation our church is protected from the danger of being ideologically misused. On the other hand, the antithesis of faith and ideology is here expressed with full clarity. The attempt at an ideological misuse of the Christian church and of the Christian message is thus pointless from the outset. The



atmosphere—to use Guardini's words—is tense and clear and full of danger. And thus in such a situation the opposition and the antithesis are also clear enough. I could add to the example from China a biblical example. In the New Testament the antithesis between faith and ideology does not of course appear in this formulation; but the piece of writing which appears in the New Testament under the name of the Epistle to the Colossians is an attempt by the primitive church to come to terms with the same questions, that is with the attempt to replace faith by ideology in its various forms.

I should like now to describe by means of three characteristics the peculiar qualities of faith in antithesis to ideology; in doing so I shall endeavor to make clear how completely different the *genus dicendi et cogitandi*, the manner of thinking and speaking, is in this context. If I have said at the beginning that the distinction between faith and ideology lies in the fact that, systematically, ideology is the product of man and of human reflection, and faith the product, the result of God's speaking to men, then an indispensable distinguishing characteristic must be that this sovereignty and majesty of God becomes evident in everything.

It becomes evident in the fact of divine *judgment*. The Marxist cannot follow this idea at all. He has no idea what we are talking about when we say that one way in which God demonstrates his majesty and sovereignty is in judging. Perhaps it is already difficult for the Marxist to give any authentic explanation of the great catastrophes in the history of the world. For really these catastrophes themselves ought not to come about. And the tendency to interpret these catastrophes merely as regrettable or understandable episodes and delays is after all quite widespread and generally known. And so when one asks why the golden age has not yet begun or why people still go hungry, that question is passed over—I use the expression deliberately—in Marxist ideology in view of its secular eschatology. Man is pointed to that which is supposed still to come and is, so to speak, urged to look beyond and think beyond the catastrophes of the present. But faith cannot evade the judgment of God. It must acknowledge the judgment of God, and that would be an idea useful for obtaining an understanding of history also perhaps in the West German situation. Much of what the journalists call the great sense of uneasiness in West Germany can really be traced back simply to the fact that the understandable human attempt to escape the judgment of God is still being made. For this reason there are a number of questions which we still cannot discuss honestly in Germany. The Jewish question now as before causes irritability. The question "What have we really done in this whole National Socialist affair?—How was it possible for that to happen?" encounters neuralgic and allergic aversion, and there are a number of similar questions which, now as before, we have not been able to settle. I include here also the fact that one of the most plausible aims that men can have, namely economic recovery, has not

brought forth what it really ought to have brought forth, that is, the feeling of real security in the world. That unconquered, vague feeling of insecurity has not easily been put aside by this plausible means. Christian faith cannot disregard the fact that there is a judgment of God which is a manifestation of divine sovereignty.

I would add a second element, which also has a gloomy and menacing sound if one thinks in terms of ideology. That is the fact that God can inflict *suffering, sickness, disaster, failure*, and that does not mean that one's cause is wrong. At this point the representative of an ideology thinks naively: Bad luck is impossible. Or he thinks even more naively: Success is the legitimization of a cause. If I have said earlier that it is a naive idea that it is precisely man's intellect which is excepted from the fall, then this thesis is the best proof of it. By his nature man is inclined to the illusion that success legitimizes. We have paid for this error with blood and tears in German history, the erroneous idea that a cause could be legitimized by its success. But the representative of an ideology must have success, or he cannot sell his idea. For this reason he continually publishes statistics; for this reason it must continually be drummed into people what has been achieved; for this reason the four, five, six or seven-year plan must be continually represented as successful. For this reason the representative of an ideology lives on the evidence that what he undertakes is successful. And if the success is obviously not there, then the calamity must be explained away and the success must be brought about eschatologically through faith.

But the Christian faith—in my opinion every proper faith—must learn again through the discussion with theology how to attain such a degree of spiritual independence that it is not dependent on legitimization through success. I consider this to be decisive for the Christian faith, and I am of the opinion that one of the greatest earthly possessions of the Christian faith consists in this fundamental spiritual independence which comes into being in that man is set free from all penultimate authorities when he knows that ultimate authority, the sovereignty of God. One of the most important converts recorded by the Roman church in the nineteenth century was the famous John Henry Cardinal Newman, one of the leaders of the Oxford Movement, a really imposing figure, personally difficult to get on with, but nevertheless a sincere man, an excellent stylist who defended his conversion against attacks by English Protestants in his famous work *Apologia pro vita sua*. In one passage there he deals with a quite similar problem. One of his literary opponents had reproached him by saying that in such and such an area Catholicism had obviously not thoroughly succeeded, whereas in the case of Protestantism it was quite different. Probably the critic said this in the somewhat naively over-confident manner which appeared occasionally in English Protestantism in the nineteenth century. In any case, Newman answered him with a Latin quotation, the



hexameter: *vixtrix causa diis placuit sed victa Catoni* [the victorious cause was pleasing to the gods, but the vanquished one pleased Cato]. Success is no classification. Cato, and after him Newman, gave this answer to his opponents. Success does not legitimize. I could refer to Jacob Burckhardt, who in his meditations on fortune and misfortune in the history of the world, and above all in his incomparable letters, expressed similar ideas as an unimpeachable interpreter of his century. To carry on the task of human existence independently of success, of obvious, naive, plausible success, is a wonderful touchstone for the difference between faith and ideology. And everything which characterizes the Christian faith, the fact that its thought centers on the cross of Christ, on the event which from the point of view of the history of the world can be regarded as the greatest failure in history and which has shown itself to be more than a mere disaster, all this helps to make clear at this point the difference between faith and ideology. How much could be gained at this point in regard to the immediate mastery of our human existence, tormented as it is by fear! The problem of fear has taken on universal proportions. It remains to be seen how this tide of fear, which engulfs the globe because of the development of atomic potentialities, will assail this ideology's naive belief in progress. But the simple assurance of the man who thinks from the point of view of success is already undermined at essential points, and if there were thinking in the West which went deep enough at this point, there would be no need for any fundamental fear regarding the great conflict which is at hand.

There is a third characteristic of faith. It is an erroneous illusion to confuse the Christian faith with a pessimistic philosophy. Faith in the sovereignty of God involves rather faith that *God is able to bless*. God not only ordains judgment, he manifests his majesty not only as the judge. Nor does he manifest his majesty solely in denying success to man, but in making him independent of the classification of success. And the Creator of heaven and earth can also give blessing, he can demonstrate his loving-kindness. That this, too, is not merely an edifying phrase could be made clear by attempting once again to analyze the external situation of West Germany. It cannot be denied that, from an economic point of view, we are prospering. There is a paradox to which attention must be drawn. We are prospering, but at the same time we are not happy. And that is the puzzling fact to which we must direct our attention. As long as economic recovery is regarded exclusively as something which man deserves, there remains the shadow of insecurity, which is precisely what compels man to boast with a loud voice of success. Probably it does no good, and is therefore neither Christian nor right, to fulminate against such self-glorification. On the contrary, it is probably necessary to make clear that man lives more at ease in this world which is so threatened and infirm if he is free from the categories of success also in the sense that he remains susceptible to the gift of divine loving-kindness. At this point an ominous hardening of

human existence can set in. There is a form of philosophy of duty which inspires terror because as a result of it a man becomes hard, petrified, inflexible, that is, so improbably good that one can only recoil from him. And this remarkable petrification is in fact the result of a certain logicity of thinking and action. I am not speaking against discipline, but I am speaking of that type of action which believes that a man must master his fate on his own, at every moment, because he is able to master it. The question as to whether a man retains the freedom to remain open to the un hoped-for and unmerited loving-kindness of God reacts upon his whole relationship to the world.

At this point mention should be made of one of the greatest and most profound insights of the Christian faith. When, for example—and particularly in our Lutheran church—the conception of man is basically derived from the recognition of the *justificatio impii*, of the justification of the ungodly, one who is unable by any means to win the favor of God by his own efforts, that implies at the same time openness for the existence which is given to man. The ability to receive the gift of God which is offered to us every day is one of the most wonderful consequences of the Christian faith. Take for example a man is seriously ill and who learns that every day he is still alive and that this is a gift to him from God; and take another who becomes free of the category of success also in the sense that he does not have to live in continuous scrupulous self-examination, but can accept the gift of existence from the hand of God. I may point out that it is here that we find the wonderful openness in regard to creation, to the created world. And if I could, I would amplify with profound joy the fact that here is to be found one of the noblest gifts to men, namely humor. "Humor goes with courage", say the English. Humor is the expression of an attitude which is basically free from fear of the world.

I have had to content myself with a few lines in regard to the description of ideologies, and it is not difficult to show me that there is much that I have omitted. I have had to do it deliberately, in order to carry out my task. The same is true for the other side of the antithesis. The theme of the Christian faith, if one understands it in actuality, is not a repristination of solutions of the past, but the form of existence today. This is an inexhaustible theme. But for this reason the historical situation in which we are living is doubly historic. The whole of our past comes up for discussion again. We cannot evade the question as to whether we intend to put a Christian interpretation upon our historical heritage. That is a question which is already decided by the course of history. Do not misunderstand me: We can say No to our heritage, just as others are determined to say Yes to this Christian heritage. Undoubtedly one can say No, but one cannot settle the matter without thinking. But the other side of the coin is just as exciting. The urge to actualize what we as Christians believe is a magnificent opportunity to become aware once more of the power of



this faith, of the clarity which is inherent in the way this faith is expressed in thought. This is a task which lies before us, something which I want to have said plainly: We do not want to present ready-made rectangular, cast-iron molds for our thought, but insights which we must make real by continually testing them by the whole of our existence. That is in fact what distinguishes faith from ideology.

*The world considers the suffering Church as forsaken by God and the way of the cross as a way to defeat. It does not discern the royal freedom and the priestly unity which the Church even then possesses. Only faith can see this, and can behold in the suffering servant of God the one who frees and unites.*

*What the Church now holds securely in faith will be gloriously revealed and fully realized in the Day of the Lord. But this fulfillment will only follow the final judgment which will reveal also the powers opposed to God, whom the returning Lord will dethrone and put under his feet. By this judgment the tares in the Church also will be separated from the wheat. The Church thus looks forward to the Day of its Lord both with victorious joy and penitent trembling . . .*

Minneapolis Study Document,  
paragraphs 80-81.

## Freedom to Reform the Church?

No one should be surprised that in setting the title for our subject we have confronted head-on one of the fundamental concepts of the Minneapolis theme, and that in doing so we have placed a question mark over the relationship between freedom and reformation. We are not attacking the Minneapolis theme when we question whether we or any mortal, Luther included, can or legitimately may by virtue of the freedom that has been received, reform the church.

For the theme is: *Christ* frees and unites; and that means also that Christ renews his church. This, of course, takes place within human history, and thus also through the agency of men. But the question arises whether men have the freedom to do it or not to do it. And it is also the question whether and in what sense a reformation, which is the product of human striving and accomplishment in the church and on its behalf, can be identified with that renewal which comes through Christ.

Thus we have directed the decisive existential question to all those churches which have grown out of Luther's reformation and especially to those who have come together in the Lutheran World Federation and who have undertaken to defend and to expand the heritage of Luther in the face of Rome and of the Enthusiasts. Since we do not intend to hold a kind of victory celebration in Minneapolis, but rather, intend responsibly to become aware of our mission to the world—this means also the "Christian world" inside and outside our churches ("our mission to all peoples")—we should be willing to put this existential question to ourselves, because it, too, is related both to our history and to our present-day task.

### I

What does "reformation" of the church mean, seen from the point of view of men as actors on the stage of human history? In answering this question, it is not without significance that Luther himself never adorned himself with the title of "reformer", as we commonly do today. Even his followers and disciples didn't use this term, though many another honorary title and apocalyptic term was heaped upon him. And we must also realize that at that time, and even during the last centuries of the Middle Ages, the term "reformation", also when mentioned in connection with the church, was used in a much more comprehensive sense than we are accustomed to today.



To begin with this last point: The history of the concept "reformation" leads us far back into the period before Luther. And it proves to be a highly ambiguous, even dangerous, concept. It is charged with religious meanings which in no way correspond to what we are used to thinking of as evangelical truth growing out of Luther's reformation preaching. It is in its roots related to, in fact originally identical with, the term "renaissance" (*renascita*).

We attempt—in distinction from our fathers of the 19th century—to keep these two concepts apart, in fact even to set them over against each other; and we have good reason to do so, in view of the different spiritual content and diverse historical course of the two movements of the 16th century entitled the "Reformation" and the "Renaissance". But we should learn from one of the great linguistic historians (Konrad Burdach, *Reformation, Renaissance, Humanismus*, 1918 and 1926) that the two concepts originally had the same meaning and that both terms, when first used to interpret the history of the West, bore the same connotations and were brought forth by the same longings and expectations.

These connotations have, it is true, disappeared from the consciousness of men today; they are hardly grasped or clearly expressed any more in the thought of the 20th century. Yet they are nonetheless there in the subconscious, so deeply imbedded that they can be taken to be the obvious presuppositions of thought and action. And if we were to let ourselves be driven by a reformation impulse which is unclear in its motives and aims, we could not do justice to the tasks before us. Let us therefore learn from the philologists and historians as to what "reformation" originally meant and how it was understood by Luther. Only when we allow our use of language to be purified can we strive with some hope of success for a theological clarification of the question as to what a "reformation of the church" must accomplish today and what the freedom we have in Christ means in this regard.

Both concepts—reformation and renaissance—have biblical roots; they both point to that renewal which takes place through the power of the Holy Spirit. This the religious seers, artists, historians and politicians of the late Middle Ages knew very well when they first used these words to express the longing of their time. They prayed the church's Pentecost liturgy: *Mitte Spiritum Sanctum tuum et creabuntur, et renovabis faciem terrae*. Reformation is *renovatio*, is rebirth by the power of the Holy Spirit.

In the pious expectation of such redemptive action by God the pious Middle Ages still continued to live together with its daughters, who were later to grow up as the great intellectual and religious movements of the Reformation and the Renaissance, within the walls of the same cathedral and gathered about the same altar. Pious children of the world they were, these men of the fourteenth as well as of the sixteenth century. That is, they hoped for the creative intervention of God, the renewal of life, not only in egotistical self-love, for the renewal of their own hearts, but for the renewal of the whole world, for the

renewal of Christendom and through it for the renewal of the whole of humanity.

Of course the reign of the Spirit comes about first in the hearts of men; reformation is understood in the first place as a process within the soul, corresponding to the mystical devotion of those centuries and of all times. Of course, looking back, one can notice a tension between the individual and the universal ecclesiastical element of this renewal. But at the same time one must admit that we modern men—since Pietism and the Enlightenment—no longer know how to balance and maintain this tension. One must admit that the men of the late Middle Ages and of the Reformation always discovered the individual element in the universal and vice versa, that is, to this extent they are fundamentally different from us. We must recognize the task which is thus laid before us in the work of the Lutheran World Federation, and which cannot be solved at Minneapolis on the fly, as it were. Only if we succeed in combining the seriousness with which our pietistic fathers took conversion with a genuine love for the whole world and with a genuine acceptance of responsibility for all men—only then can the freedom to reform the church be vouchsafed to us.

Reformation, according to the understanding of the men who first used this word, is the intervention of God in the history of mankind, an act in the history of the world through which Christendom is enabled to fulfill its mission to mankind, through which the way is prepared for the consummation of the world. Reformation is an apocalyptic event, and the longing expectation that God will soon bring it about is an eschatological faith. God awakened this faith within Christendom more than 200 years before he actually carried out the reformation of the church; and without such faith there could have been no reformation—nor could there be one today.

The Babylonian captivity of the church and the freedom of the people of God—these are the two contrasting ideas by which *Gioachino de Fiore*—in many respects the precursor of Saint Francis and the patron of many later Franciscans—represented the coming renewal. Its break-through characterizes the final phase of human history, the first phase of which was represented by the fall of Adam and the second by the redemption wrought by Christ. And that break-through takes place in analogy to the second phase, when through the incarnation, death and resurrection of Christ the state of innocence of the original Adam was restored. At that time, it is true, the purity of the early church was temporarily lost at the end of the apostolic age. But with the final reformation of the church, which *Gioachino* expects during the period of the Spirit, the final restoration will come to pass and be consummated by the return of Christ.

Reformation of the church means, therefore, its rebirth (renaissance). Just like the resurrection, it is not an absolutely new creation, but presupposes an essential nucleus which remains intact. This means that a reformation of the



church cannot be thought of without the church's being founded by Christ or without its continuance in history. The church which is to be reformed is still there. But it has fallen from the purity of its origin and has been untrue to its historical mission. It lies helpless, languid, inactive, in the throes of death; it would die if it were not renewed daily by the gracious power of the Spirit. It must be reformed entirely, from top to bottom, if God is to perfect in and through it his work in the world. It must like the phoenix be revived at the last, in order for the Golden Age to dawn.

Behind this belief in rebirth is a quite definite picture of the course of history which follows a threefold cycle: original purity, fall, restoration (*reformatio*). If we make use of this scheme in relation to the church, we see it at the time of Jesus and his apostles in all its purity. Then came its secularization and with it its fall, which can be variously dated and explained, and which continues down to the tragic present. It will be followed, however, by the reformation of the church, by the period of perfection, in which the original glory will be restored and which will then continue untarnished. The expected reformation is therefore the decisive turning-point in history; it is an eschatological event.

This scheme, however, can be applied not only to church history but also to world history in general; in it, creation and restoration correspond. The decline is given in Adam's fall; the turning-point is not so much in Christ's historical work of redemption, as in the perfection of this work which is identified with the reformation of the church. This provides then the immediate prerequisite for the return of Christ; the end of the world returns to the beginning of creation.

We must be clear about the fact that this scheme, however much it may seem to correspond to the biblical account of redemption, may be applied, as a result of its universal character, to all historical phenomena. Everything has a pure origin in God, everything strives to return to it. "Each thing's highest longing, implanted in it from the beginning by nature, is to return to its source." Dante, who expressed this in relation to everything that exists, turns into something cosmic that which Augustine in his *Confessions*—with a speculative Neoplatonic background, of course—testifies to in regard to the religious experience of salvation: "Our heart is restless till it finds rest, O Lord, in thee."

If one thinks like Dante and his humanistic adherents, particularly Rienzo, the Roman tribune, and Petrarch, the first "modern man" of the West, then, in returning to its origins, which everything that exists does out of inner necessity, reformation becomes a natural process, the precise date of which cannot be calculated, but which can be expected to take place with absolute certainty. An eschatological faith becomes belief in an immanent law of life which ultimately teaches that history moves in a cycle. Reformation is then nothing other than the sudden change in the development of things which arises out of itself and is to be expected with certainty. Reformation, in other words, with its loss of spontaneity, has also lost its divine origin.

And so this historical law of fall and restoration can be transferred to the most varied areas of life, first and foremost to *political* life. Rienzo did this when carrying out in his revolution of the year 1347 the so-called "reformation of the Roman state". Renewal of the ancient Roman imperial glory was the purpose. Law was supposed to be restored again in its purity, the tyranny of the Roman nobility was to be broken. The creative power of Rome was to have brought about the unity of Italy, the aura of its splendor was again to have filled the whole earth. And with Rome's becoming in this way young again, the imperial power of Constantine was again to have been awakened. And behind this loomed the figure of the first emperor Augustus, who would rise again to renew the world by divine power and authority.

Reformation as the political renewal of the world! This dream accompanied from the beginning the modern history of the West. It is mixed with motives taken from Christian tradition; faith in the coming political reformation becomes a pseudo-Christian *ersatz* religion. With antiquated ceremonial on Pentecost in 1347, Rienzo the Roman tribune was initiated as a knight in the baptistery of the Emperor Constantine; that was intended as a sign that the Holy Spirit had creatively renewed him and the Roman people and had authorized and equipped them for their great political mission. And even earlier on the occasion of the Holy Year indulgence of 1300, Pope Boniface VIII had enticed hosts of pilgrims to the Holy City with the expectation that they would be allowed to participate in the great baptism of the nations which would bring reconciliation and renewal. "Reformatio imperii", the renewal of the ancient imperial glory—that was the slogan with which the medieval emperors had set out upon their pilgrimages to Rome. The reformation of Christendom—that was the religious-political dream which the multitudes expected would be fulfilled in Rome because of the holy places and the treasures of grace stored up there.

Reformation as a restoration of an original ideal political structure—this dream has remained with the "Christian" peoples of the West; it lent wings to their political hopes even, or especially, after the original Christian motivation and coloring of this chimerical ideal had been forgotten. This dream, to restore what is original, includes both revolution and restoration; and the vacillation between these two extremes is the characteristic of the last five hundred years of Western history.

And yet it applies here too: the extremes meet, because they rest upon the same presuppositions. The Christian and post-Christian world knows only "conservative" revolutions, because it justifies its revolutionary zeal with ideals which it projects into the past, because it believes with religious ardor in the possibility that the past can be restored, that the end can return to its origin. It is just such a revolution which the modern man thinks of when he hears about the reformation of the church.



But these conservative revolutions which seek to restore that which is original take place not only as political struggles for power; before it comes to that, decisions have already been made in the area of thought and culture. Since the fall of the medieval world there has been an imperialist universalism which is understood in a purely cultural way, which is tied up with the urge of the Western nations for their reformation. For this reformation means simultaneously the rebirth of the European nations of culture. Italy at first longed for such rebirth for itself carried out in the realm of culture and the intellect (under Dante, Rienzo and Petrarch). The restoration of the glory of the empire of Augustus is identical with the reestablishment of the unity of Italy and the rebirth of the Italian nation. It took place in the purely intellectual realm of education and culture in the 14th century and since then has spread abroad its light through the countries of Europe, though not in the political realm. For the humanists south of the Alps, who strove for this renewal of their country, the peoples north of the mountains were barbarians, not worthy of the cultural riches which eternal Rome continually bestowed on them out of the abundance of its wealth. The reborn nation is the torch of humanity. Among the peoples around only darkness is to be found. If light is to shine forth among them, it must come from a people who have experienced a reformation; and all light which exists among the nations is reflected upon the one nation of culture which has been blessed by a special rebirth.

Thus the longing for a reformation is connected with the rise of national political thought in medieval Europe; and this rise has ideologically determined modern history. For it was natural that others would soon dispute the claim of the Italian people, who in any case attained their national unity so late and imperfectly, to be the bringer of culture to mankind. The "barbarian" nations, too, the French first and then the Germans, strove for their rebirth; art and science were to be proof among them that they had attained it, that they were bearers of culture for mankind. And since the Enlightenment, which brought with it the beginning of the era of national revolutions in Europe, one nation after another has been experiencing its "rebirth" and derives from it a missionary task, a claim to be the benefactors of the world, and thereby stirs up mankind into agitation. Ever since the ideal of the national state has come to predominate, ever since the reformation of the ancient empire has become the "conservative" revolutions of France, Germany and Russia, since this time people have been trying to commend Luther's reformation of the church to us as a great exploit of the German *Geist*. We as Germans must beware of falling prey to the arrogance of claiming as a nation to be the world's benefactor but we must also beware of conjuring up, through ambiguous terminology, the accusation of having such arrogance when as German Lutherans we speak of the reformation of the church.

Ever since men in the West began to talk of reformation and rebirth they have established a universal cultural imperialism along with regaining a

certain lost richness of life: what is original is genuine; the man who has restored it has in his hands the means of renewing the world. And if we ask now, by what this interpretation of history is supported and maintained, which would equate truth with the pure beginnings of events and which would bend back the course of events to that point, the answer points to a concept which only at a much later date came into its own in European thought, although the idea itself was there from the beginning. I refer to the concept of the *classical*. It is most closely connected with the cyclical pattern mentioned above.

For if that which is original and genuine is the only thing that is true, to which ultimately everything must find its way back, then it is the highest norm for the course of history. Everything that happens in history is measured by this norm and is meant to lead to its realization. That which is classical is the norm because it is the original and genuine essence of all culture. It is found at the beginning and at the end of history. It gives history its purpose and meaning in every phase of its development.

For the men of the Italian Renaissance it was the Augustan age which appeared as the classical one. All of reality, artistic and political, is oriented by it; to see this age restored was the dream of the leading personalities. For the peoples north of the Alps the classical ideal was at first not identified with the beginning of their own history. The clung to "classical" antiquity, and sought in their thinking and art to be faithful to the models of that time. Soon, however, they learned to grasp with concepts of their own, to represent with forms of expression of their own culture the ideals which they had. This happened in France in the 17th century and in Germany in the 18th century. These two nations experienced their cultural and national rebirth in their own "classical" periods; the Slavs followed with theirs in the 19th century. A self-created ideal of a "classical" way of life consciously or unconsciously influences the peoples of the West. And when they say "reformation" they unconsciously press for its realization.

These tendencies and perspectives which we have drawn out by means of the history of the concept "reformation" can probably be followed with much more detachment by our American friends than we Europeans can muster. They have consciously stepped out of the circle in which the end always turns back to its origin. They have consciously made a new beginning, live for the future and not in retrospect. For them the reformation of the church is not a restoration of the past, a revitalization of an ideal felt to be classical, but it means pulling up stakes for a new unknown land which God will show them. When we, laden with our historical concepts and traditions, come to them in order to join them in thinking about the reformation of the church, in order to pray for such a reformation, they will not always be able to hear the echoes of the past which accompany what we say; and we shall fail to hear many of the voices which speak to them enticingly of a future full of promise. Each of us will have to try hard to say exactly what it is we mean by a reformation of the



church today; and we shall have to listen closely to one another, so that each understands what the other means. For this reason the weight of the past which encumbers us of the West when we hear the word "reformation" should here be unburdened; not so as to burden our brethren in America or the younger churches with it but in order that we together with them may be clear about what should and may be expected in regard to a "reformation of the church".

At this point, we with them, however, are confronted by the very same danger and temptation. The concept of the classical which arose in the historical understanding of the late middle ages and the Renaissance has penetrated also the church and its theology and has even affected the understanding of Christian revelation itself. Scripture, and in particular the New Testament, is thought of as the "classical" document of Christian revelation, the early church as the "classical" manifestation of Christian life in general. And the "reformation of the church" means then return to these pure origins described in Scripture. Catholicism in any one of its various early phases appears as the agent of apostasy. And Luther restored the church and left it the task to reform itself again and again according to the classical pattern given in Scripture. "Ecclesia semper reformanda" is the idea of the church oriented toward that classical biblical ideal which arose among the early Franciscans, Wycliffites and Hussites with the concept of a cyclical pattern and its corresponding view of history and which was then passed on by Reformed Protestantism.

It is my concern in this connection simply to point out that this biblical classical ideal is connected with that view of history which called forth the many connotations of the word "reformation" which we have seen. This ideal is inseparable from that view of history. He who finds the one correct must also acknowledge the other; he who repudiates the one must also reject the other. And since we, for the most part, have made each of them, both the view of history and the ideal, obvious presuppositions for what we understand by the "reformation of the church", we should do well to consider very seriously such acknowledgement or rejection.

In tracing the change in meaning of the word "reformation", however, we ought not to be concerned simply with the view of history connected with it, but also with the view of *man*. For we said above that hand in hand with the rebirth of nations goes the restoration of man. One is not without the other; and "reformation" means both. For this reason there can be no restoration of the church without the renewal of the individual.

A "reformatio animi", the restoration of the soul deformed by Adam's fall, was spoken of already by Bonaventura, the most faithful, learned and profound disciple of St. Francis; the new life in conformity with the poverty of Jesus of Nazareth (*transformatio in Jesum*) was extolled by Thomas of Celano, the biographer of the saint of Assisi; "*incipit vita nova*", proclaimed Dante in

his great work. And Giochinites, mystics and poets awaited the "reformatio interioris hominis", and by this term they did not intend primarily to give instruction for the inner edification of man but rather to give expression to the longing for the realization of the new picture of man, the rise of a new type of man. This longing is behind all of the various political and ecclesiastical expectations and plans. A reformation of Christendom from top to bottom—that was well-known in the centuries before Luther—cannot come to pass if man himself does not change.

What does this new man look like, the one who is to be the agent of the reformation? Whereas we had become accustomed ever since Jacob Burckhardt to imagine the Renaissance picture of man as free of all religious ties, the research of recent decades has learned to recognize those elements of Christian piety which helped to produce it. Creation, fall and restoration are the framework for the Renaissance picture of man; in other words, it is the picture of man created and sustained by God, which we see here.

In this framework, however, we notice a secularization of biblical motives similar to that which we became acquainted with in the political and artistic understanding of reformation in the late middle ages. The reformation of man means his being changed back into his ideal original form. Man, regenerated, shines resplendent in imperishable youth and original beauty. He is the same as Adam on the sixth day of creation, the same as the original man upon whom God bestows the abundance of his gifts, from whom is radiated the splendor of the divine image, as yet unspoiled. This man will reappear in his purity and freedom; the fall with all its consequences will be abrogated.

One must become aware of the divine breath of creation on the faces of Michelangelo's figures, one must see the dew of the first days of creation glisten on their beautiful nude forms, to interpret correctly the way in which this picture of man is related to God. For this renewed man already exists. The fall is rescinded, the perfection of the creature is already anticipated. In this creative act of the artist—and that means not only in those forms created by him but in his creative will itself—the picture of man is restored. It was not the young Goethe who first made the figure of Prometheus the symbol of this new man, but the late 14th century. And anticipation of Christian eschatology results in borrowing from ancient pre-Christian times.

Reformation means the restoration of man as he was first created; return to man as he originally was elicits the exaltation of the simple life, makes the farmer the paragon of human existence. We are thinking of William Langland's *Piers Plowman*, and draw the connection through Lollardism to the peasant revolts in England and Western Europe and from the *Ackermann aus Böhmen* by Johann von Saaz through the Hussites and Taborites to the prophets of the German Peasant War of Luther's day. Man as he was originally created arises in his crude simplicity and with his honest desire to give form to a new world. And we need not trace the historical connections



through Rousseau to the European revolutions of 1789 to 1917 to recognize the old Adam who knows himself to be the man of the future and who intends to reform the old world.

But Adamic man as agent of the reformation not only takes the road of mass social revolutions; he can also, as the great Individual, as the aristocratic superman, cause the new world to come into being. Adamic man is the self-creative man who independently gives form to political and cultural reality. Emperor Frederick II in the prologue to his collection of Sicilian constitutions exalted Adam before the fall as the king of the world crowned by God himself, and placed his own reign in the splendor of that imperishable majesty. Adamic man is the prince of humanity who unites under his reign all the riches of the world. This is the way Dante viewed him and this picture haunts the dictatorships of modern history.

Adamic man is also at the same time the religious, spiritual and intellectual superman, the man of pristine wisdom and as such the teacher and leader of mankind. Pope Boniface VIII described him as the "*homo spiritualis*" and makes use of the word of the Apostle in regard to him: "The spiritual man judges all things, but is himself to be judged by no one". (I Cor. 2:15). In Peter and his successors was this word fulfilled. The Roman pope is the *homo spiritualis*; in him all of humanity is united, to him humanity is spiritually and thus also politically subjected. That all should recognize this for the sake of their salvation, this is what the reformation of the church consists in according to the opinion of the famous papal bull of the year 1302; in this way the God-pleasing condition of the world is restored.

## II

There have been, in other words, innumerable ideas connected with the concept "reformation" from the time it was first used in the 13th century. They comprise the whole course of the history of mankind and connect its end with its beginning. They comprise the whole political-social, cultural-artistic and religious reality of Western man. They fulfill his dreams and bring forth his intellectual and cultural life and works of art; they conjure up the outbreaks of his political controversies and revolutions.

It would be incorrect to deny that all of these desires and longings accompanied Luther's reformation, that they welcomed and furthered the victory of his cause, that they perhaps even caused him to make the political, spiritual, cultural and intellectual decisions which he did. And just as these expectations determined the three centuries before him they also determined the period after him down to the present day. All the various hopes for renewal which we have become acquainted with became attached to Luther's work during his lifetime, and outlined in advance the interpretation which the period after him

allowed to be connected with this work. Whoever follows the history of the picture of Luther through its various changes during the last four centuries confronts all the various ideals of revitalization and reformation which were connected already with the thoughts and feelings of the late Middle Ages and which were then attached to his person.

Do we now have the freedom to choose what we want from the abundance of these ideas when we come to discuss with one another in Minneapolis the reformation of the church? Do we at least have the freedom to ask for all that which in the course of the centuries was asked for in a reformation of the church? Or must we be afraid that great confusion might result among us should the cornucopia of these ideas be poured out upon us, that the confusion of Babel might be repeated if this or that idea were proclaimed as a necessity for the reformation of the church?

I believe we ought to entertain such fears; we must limit ourselves in our freedom of choice. We shall have to be very careful to ask what kind of reformation of the church is demanded by our Evangelical freedom and how such a demand can be fulfilled today. And we shall have to take our orientation in this from *Luther*. Though he did not allow himself to be described as the reformer of the church, he was naturally acquainted with the term "reformation" and also with the choir of voices which surrounded him at the time. What was it he heard in particular? What did he himself affirm, in other words, how did he picture the reformation of the church? We do not intend nor are we able to examine within the framework of this short article on the basis of Luther's statements what nuances of meaning the concept "reformation" had for him. We are able, however, on the basis of the somewhat firm picture of Luther we have today, to state what position he took in relation to the different meanings which the late Middle Ages attached to this concept. And from this point we can also then establish certain principles for determining in what sense Luther reckoned with the possibility of a freedom to reform the church.

Now there is certainly no question that Luther in his view of church history was acquainted with a cyclical pattern but that he did not give it the significance which it had in the centuries before him and among his humanistic contemporaries. He was of course directly confronted by the fact of the fall of Christendom and was forced to reflect on its causes and for that reason also on the point in history when it approximately took place. We find, however, various answers and various dates side by side. For example: in the course of the last 300 or 400 years the church has begun to decay ever since the philosophy of Aristotle began to triumph over the church's theology; or Luther goes to the beginning of the 7th century, since soon after the death of Gregory the Great the popes began to grasp after the diadem of earthly power. In other words, we see that there is no definite date; the viewpoints change according to the position Luther is taking up the moment. Of course he is also of the



opinion that these evidences of decay must be overcome and that it is his task to contribute to this. But he knows nothing of an ideal origin of the church, nor is he forced to recognize that the course of things must of necessity be led back to these sure beginnings; the idea of a restoration, of a reformation in this sense, did not even occur to him. In short, Luther has no cyclical pattern into which the course of history is forced. Many of the desires and expectations which motivated the man of the late Middle Ages probably affected him as well. His picture of the course of church history and of the reformation of the church, however, was not influenced by them.

When Luther surveys the whole of church history his gaze does not come to rest on a cycle of decay and restoration. He is aware rather of an existing tension which is constantly coming to the fore, which endangers the life of the church more at one time and less at another, but which at all times is overcome by the renewing power of the grace of God. This is the struggle which first took place between Cain and Abel, in which the true church is apparently destroyed and the false church is externally triumphant. This struggle between the children of Cain and the children of Abel continues throughout the history of the church and always has the same result: In being subjected, the true church really triumphs; in its mortal sufferings it witnesses to the power of the cross of Christ and in its final victory, to the power of his resurrection.

It is clear that with such an understanding of the course of history the reformation can be no once-and-for-all event, no eschatological event. It takes place every day, everywhere where the Word of the cross and the resurrection is rightly preached and the power of the crucified and resurrected Lord is effective in the service of obedience. In other words there is no dramatization of church history corresponding to the ideas which his contemporaries connected with a reformation of Christendom. A reformation of the church takes place where the Word of God has free course to accomplish his work. That is certainly nothing that is usual or a matter of course but is something that is very simple and unnoticed, something that cannot be made the object of resolutions, something that cannot be brought about through ecumenical consultations.

The *new man*, the new Adam, born again for righteousness and freedom, is visible only in suffering, only in his similarity to the crucified Christ. He longs in the power of the living Christ for the resurrection, but he does not anticipate it. *Adamic man*, in other words, does not already appear in unbroken purity and beauty. The artists' figures, which are meant to represent him, are true not in themselves; they are not a sign of the renewal of the original state of man or a sign that the artistic power by which they were produced has been renewed. All of this should not be looked upon as a proof that the reformation has already taken place, that the circle in which the end of all things is connected to their pristine beginnings has now been completed, that the fountain of pure origin has again begun to flow. If all these products of art and culture

have their truth, it consists in this: that they point to that creative, divinely intended origin from which we today are separated by the fall into sin as by an abyss, that they point to the end of all things when the Christ who is to come again will bridge the abyss and make us like unto his glory. When man attempts to restore that which is irrestorably past, when he attempts to anticipate that which is not yet come, he does not produce reformation but *deformation*, under the appearance of that which is true and beautiful. If Luther is a reformer, then his reformation is as far removed from such dreams and expectations as the heavens are higher than the earth.

For this reason Luther does not recognize the rebirth of Adamic man in Poor Conrad and his *social revolution* and fundamentally separates his reformation of the church from such a reformation. And the church which bears his name on its coat of arms should have distinguished more clearly between itself and the cult of primitive repristination than it has done since the days of Rousseau and romanticism. It need not be afraid of the accusation of being socially behind times when it removes the halo of the old Adam, also when he boasts of being the one who is renewed and who can renew society. And if Adamic man arrogates to himself as the emperor of the world the crown of Adam before the fall or the tiara of the *homo spiritualis* and claims to be the teacher of the nations and the one who proclaims divine revelation, then the church has learned from Luther not to be blinded by the appearance of a supposed renewal of man but rather to testify to that message of sin and grace by which God intends to save the world. The sobriety with which the church awaits this salvation protects the world from all human reformations and holds the way open for genuine perfection which will be given on the day of resurrection.

In other words, though Luther rejects the picture of Adamic man which his immediate predecessors and contemporaries thought they were able to restore in the area of art, politics and society, he in no way denies the possibility of a *universal* reformation which, proceeding from a church renewed by the power of the Gospel, comprises the whole world. It is rather with humble pride and with grateful astonishment that he saw the Gospel preached by him change the most diverse circumstances. The Gospel—accompanied by divine power—brought crashing to the ground in the church that which men believed had been built for eternity. It gave to worldly authority its dignity again and thereby changed the political world. It gave new impulse to the education of youth. It renewed the gift of language and thus took education and culture into its service. Where the church allows the power of the Word of God freely to reign, powers of renewal emanate from it into the world. Where it allows itself again and again to be reformed by the Word the church effects a permanent reformation.

Freedom for such a reformation is ours at all times. And when we gather together in Minneapolis from all over the world we should verify this freedom for today. We should not lose ourselves in apocalyptic dreams and try to



anticipate the reformation which Christ will bring about at his return on the day of perfection. It may be that the power of such an apocalyptic faith which brings together in unity both the beginning and the end of world history can let loose tremendous explosive effects; the history of recent centuries as well as the present offer enough examples of this.

Such a faith has not been committed unto us. What holds us together is faith in the Word of forgiveness with which God equips his church, by which he protects and sustains his fallen world for ultimate redemption. It is this Word which reforms, by renewing us who hear it and by working through us in the world.

This Word places us in the freedom of service. We serve the Word that frees us. By placing ourselves in service at its disposal we have true freedom to reform the church.

*The Reformation did not produce a perfect church or create a situation which should permanently endure. It was rather a movement which made clear the essential nature of the Church, and the criteria by which it is always to be judged. Both the freedom of the Church and its unity forbid us to set up any historical form of the Church as absolute. Rather they require every generation to examine anew whether the Church is really in accord with its Scriptural foundation. The Gospel cannot be captured by any one distinct ecclesiastical form which will preserve and guarantee its power and purity . . . The Church remains forever in need of reform. In penitence it needs continually to pray for the renewing gift of the Holy Spirit.*

Minneapolis Study Document,  
paragraph 47.

## Free and Unfree Service in the World

The problem of freedom and unity is common everywhere, though it has peculiar features in certain countries. The peculiarity of the Indian situation is the predominantly non-Christian religious background on the one hand and the presence and working of the innumerable denominations on the other. Freedom and unity wrought in Jesus Christ should be interpreted against this total background. In Asia, especially in India, the ideas of freedom and unity give rise to several questions. Is there freedom at all in any sphere of existence and life in the world? Is not everything caught up in a network of cause and effect, one thing depending upon another? Where is absolute freedom? If the latter exists, is there room in the existence of such freedom for the reality of multiple forms of life and existence? Is not such freedom identical with absolute unity? Thus the reality of freedom and unity results, according to the non-Christian religious and naturalistic philosophies, in the denial of the reality of multiple forms of life and existence. It is bound to be so because of the impersonal standpoint of these philosophies. Furthermore, in the Eastern countries the disparity between the haves and the have-nots is so pronounced that, though there is an upsurge among the masses in general, the popular tendency still is to take the lack of freedom, the bondage of life to sin, suffering and death as the direction of an inevitable fate or *karma*. There is no denying the depth of ideas behind these popular and philosophical beliefs; but what is to be observed is that these attitudes do not face the serious facts of life over against or in relation to man's ultimate destiny. This gives the message of the Assembly, that Christ alone frees and unites, its particular relevance precisely in the non-Christian world.

### The Essential Difference Between Christian and Non-Christian Views

Any view that does not take seriously the origin and destiny of man cannot adequately understand the nature of man—his life of freedom and unity. The thinkers of India tried to understand man's nature as essentially self-consciousness. *Sat* is essence or existence; it is a form of consciousness (*Chit*). Any object that can be mentioned is *sat*; but the self-consciousness in man is pure *sat* and is absolutely free from all entanglements. Thus self-consciousness or the self (*atman*) of man is absolutely free while man is involved in bodily entanglements. Again, the self or self-consciousness in every man is identical and hence it is unity. Thus according to the Upanishad thinkers, man is essentially free—*aham brahmasmi*—and one—*ekamevadviyam*. The vitalities of



nature and the multiplicity of the world in which he is involved are only transitory and not real. The approach here is not only anthropocentric but wholly impersonal. It has been pertinently observed by Bishop Newbigin: "But so long as the central and controlling idea is salvation through the knowledge of identity with the Supreme Self, so long as the world of multiplicity and change is believed to be not wholly real, Hinduism can never put a visible human community into the center of its creed, as Christianity puts the Church. The unity which it offers is the cessation of strife, not the creation of a new community."<sup>1</sup>

The Hebrew thinkers approach the problem differently. They try to understand man's nature from the standpoint of his origin and destiny. They ask: Who made man and all around him? What is his destiny? The answer is: Not I; nor you; nor he either from what we are. Then Who? Some power *beyond* us as well as *within* us. "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them." (Gen. 1:27).

This formulation of Biblical faith is profound. The self-revelation of God is vouchsafed unto all through what human beings are and through the world and history. The Hebrews experienced it and listened to the unuttered call—"O Jacob, I have called thee by thy name, thou art mine" (Isa. 43:1)—and obeyed it—"Thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer from of old is thy name" (Isa. 63:16). "All that the Lord has spoken we will do, and we will be obedient" (Ex. 24:7). This means a personal God claiming and commanding, and a people obeying and worshiping. God created man in his own image—he is within and beyond; he is not the mere self of man but is transcendent. The image and God, the self and the supreme Spirit stand one against the other as creature and Creator. Further, "male and female created he them". This implies that according to Biblical faith, man stands and lives not only in relation to God but also in relation to his neighbor. The substance of what God requires is: "Love thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself" (Deut. 6:5; Lev. 19:18).

Only the faith that recognizes the reality of God and of the neighbor can take seriously the study of man's nature and destiny. Is man right with God? Is he right with himself and with his neighbor? An honest self-examination in the light of God's self-revelation will reveal that man is a sinner. He turned against God through his pride and ambition, trying to make himself God; he turned against man, his neighbor, in his anxiety to secure himself supreme by annihilating every rival. The story of the fall, of the dispersion, and many other incidents narrated in the Bible show clearly the tragic tension and perversion in which man is involved. He has been made a slave under the rule of sin and death. He has lost his original freedom and unity. He is divided in and against himself; so is society and the nation of which he is a member. The original perversion in which he is involved is of such tragic dimension that man himself cannot redeem himself. The cry of St. Paul is the cry of every believing

<sup>1</sup> *The Journal of Religion*, Vol. XXXV, No. 1, Jan. 1955.

soul: "Wretched man that I am! Who will deliver me from this body of death?" (Rom. 7:24). Who will deliver me then? Paul continues: "Thanks be to God through Jesus Christ our Lord." Why? For, in the words of the theme of the Assembly, Christ Alone Frees and Unites. The God of love acted in Christ to redeem mankind from sin and death. The mystery of the incarnation reveals the depth and dimension of human perversion.

Over against this article of Christian faith, there is the Hindu doctrine of incarnation. In the Upanishads the doctrine does not appear but in the Bhagavadgita it assumes full form. However, the same impersonal view underlies this doctrine too. Sri Krishna says: "Whenever there is a decline of righteousness and rise of unrighteousness, O Bharata (Arjuna), then I send forth [create incarnate] Myself" (Gita IV, 7). "For the protection of the good, for the destruction of the wicked and for the establishment of righteousness, I come into being from age to age" (Gita IV, 8). A few observations must be made. The fall of *dharma* and the rise of *adharma*, considered from the standpoint of the context, imply some disturbance of cosmic and impersonal nature to set right which Krishna incarnates himself on earth. Commenting on this, Dr. Radhakrishnan says: "Dharma will conquer *adharma*, truth will conquer falsehood; the power behind death, disease and sin will be overthrown by the reality which is Being, Intelligence, and Bliss." It must be admitted here that the philosopher is influenced by the impersonal reality of *sat*, *chit*, *ananda* of the Upanishads. Again, Sri Krishna incarnates himself *not* once for all as does God according to Christian faith; but *yuge yuge*—that is, in this age and in that, or from time to time. Further, the descent—*avatara*—is not for saving "the lost sheep" but for destroying them. The difficulty with Hinduism is its predominantly impersonal and naturalistic standpoint which will not allow a spontaneous passage from the deity to devotee and vice versa.

When the gods and demons churned the ocean there arose a deadly poison called *halahalam*. It was killing all peoples of the earth and was destroying even the gods. So the gods prayed to Brahma and he in turn asked Siva to help them. Siva then swallowed the poison and kept it in his throat, for if, presumably, he were to swallow it, even he might be killed. He was therefore called *Nilakantah*—one having black poison in the throat. Hindus quote this as the redeeming act of Siva. The difference between this and the act of God in Christ is obvious. The question of man's sin or his eternal damnation from which alone salvation through the act of God is necessary is not here evident.

Therefore, whether the non-Christian world accepts it or not, whether the individual Christian believes it or not, the supreme truth according to Christian faith remains the same: Jesus, the Christ, alone frees and unites enslaved and shattered and sinful humanity. This witness of the Christian faith does not question the honesty or authenticity of the profession and proclamation and practice of other faiths and philosophies; nor does it arrogantly assume that its particular interpretation of the Christian faith is infallible; neither does it deny



the equal involvement of itself (the witnessing Christians) with others (the non-Christians holding other faiths and views) in sin and in frustration, thus being in need of God's mercy. But the utterance of the witnessing Christian is emphatic: "One thing I know, that though I was blind, now I see" (John 9:25). A Christian is a forgiven sinner; he witnesses to the forgiving love of God in Christ Jesus and he bases his living on the faith and principle of forgiving love in relation to others. "A new commandment I give to you", said Jesus, "that you love one another; even as I have loved you, that you also love one another. By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another" (John 13:34,35).

### A Freed and United Life, a Life of Service

St. Paul sets forth the characteristic marks of life freed by Christ and led by the Spirit as "love (*agape*), joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control" (Gal. 5:22). Love of God forms the basis of love of man for his neighbor in society. God's act of love in Christ has freed us from the bondage of law, sin and death. Now, just as we were slaves to the works of the flesh—immorality, impurity, licentiousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmity, strife, jealousy, anger, selfishness, dissension, party spirit, envy, drunkenness, carousing, and the like—before being converted to the love of God in Christ—so we must yield ourselves wholly to the love and will of God in Christ. St. Augustine said, "Love God and do what you like." Martin Luther bases the possibility of living according to the ten commandments on our loving God above all things. All these saints assume that those who are freed by Christ must give themselves wholly to his will; they must become his *douloi*. This means the entire surrender and transformation of thought, word and deed. The center of life is God in Christ. The world around, whether Christian or non-Christian, is his creation and is organically connected with the center of life that is surrendered to God in Christ. Therefore, in principle, there shall be no hatred but only love; there shall be no disservice to neighbors but service. Dr. Martin Luther particularly pointed out that we should not only *not* kill or commit adultery or steal or bear false witness against our neighbor or covet but *should* help and serve our neighbor in every way. Thus Christian life is a life of freedom grounded in the love and work of God in Christ Jesus; it is a life of love and surrender—a new bondage; above all, it is a life of service in society. This is the view of life according to Christian faith. "For he that is not against us is for us" (Mark 9:40). "Love and service are the two characteristic features of the Christian life."<sup>2</sup>

Love expresses itself in various forms of service—religious, social, economic, and political. The greatest service that a man can render to his neighbor is to

<sup>2</sup> Vinoba Bhave, reported in the *Times of India*, March 27, 1955.

share with him what he considers the richest blessing that he has received. It is most obvious that the blessing of freedom and redemption of oneself—the whole man—from the bondage of law, sin, and death through the loving act of God in Jesus Christ is the greatest blessing. Therefore a Christian is bound by reason of his love for his neighbor to share with him the joy of his salvation—the gospel, *evangelion*. It is not uncommon that man keeps for himself the secret of a particular revelation. According to the earliest and most authentic tradition, when Gautama Buddha received the revelation of *bodha* or *jñāna*, he was tempted to keep it from others for himself; but later on he overcame the temptation and declared the message to his disciples and others. According to Hindu orthodoxy the message of *moksha* or release is not to be imparted to everyone; only the twice-born, the *dviyas*, are eligible to receive it. Even among the *dviyas*, according to *Samkara*, only those who have the fourfold preparation (distinguishing between the eternal and the non-eternal, having an attitude of detachment, cultivating the virtues of tranquillity, continence, etc., having a desire for release) can receive instruction in the way of *jñāna* leading to release. It is popularly said that it is easier to get access to God than to Guru. The tradition still prevails, in spite of the efforts of the national leaders to the contrary, that religious lore should not be made popular. Thus, when a Christian shares the joy and message of his salvation in Christ Jesus with his neighbor, it is to be considered that he is doing the most loving and unselfish act for the good of society. Speaking of the preaching of the Gospel by missionaries, a government spokesman has said: "From such knowledge as I possess of Mr. Gandhi I can only say this. It would require overwhelming proof to convince me that he, who, whatever else may be thought of him, is one of the greatest social reformers India has known, had failed to recognize that the real work of Christian missions was poles asunder from proselytizing as commonly understood. I am sure that he knows as we do that it springs only from the irresistible impulse of men who, knowing themselves to possess the treasure beyond price, long to share it with their fellows" (Lord Irwin).

In this connection it is not out of place to mention the current controversy over the necessity or legitimacy of this kind of service—the question of evangelism in India. Should conversion and propaganda follow the practice of a faith? The faith is good and it is good to follow it and to practice it; but there is no need to proclaim it by word of mouth. This is the standpoint of the nationalist leaders and of some leaders of liberal theology. But, from what has been observed above, it is forcing a man to a way of life leading not only to suicide but also to social extinction.

Every species in the organic realm exists and develops by propagating itself. In the field of science every new discovery wins its day and proves useful to humanity only through propaganda. The field of history proves this truth beyond dispute. How did superstition give way to science, tribalism to statehood, imperialism to nationalism, autocracy to democracy? Propaganda has



played a very important and inevitable role. No two individuals think exactly alike, and hence it is possible that they hold different views. Each one tries to persuade the other to see the rightness of his own view. This is propaganda and daily *occurs* in the assemblies, in the conferences of a national and political nature. Thus it is not only the species of life that lives and grows through propagation but also every species of opinion and conviction of truth spreads and progresses by means of propaganda. Why should this method of propaganda be denied to the realm of religious experience?

There is a still profounder reason which considers propaganda as a necessity for the expression of one's inner conviction and faith. Psychologically one's faith in, and being convinced of, a truth religious or otherwise forms an "inner burden" in him and continually struggles for expression. It even "depresses" him if he does not express it by sharing it with others. This is profoundly true in the case of religious experience. The writer believes that the Christian missionary enterprise, for an appraisal of its primary aim, ought to be viewed from this standpoint of the "inner burden" rather than from any other.

The case having been stated for the expression of one's faith through propaganda, conversion forms the logical corollary of the latter. When one is convinced of a message preached to him, or of a policy presented to him, he, as a moral and spiritual agent, is required to make a decision for or against this message or policy. Honest and strict neutrality is impossible in the human situation; one must decide for or against the new situation. If he decides for it, he is *converting* from his old faith to the new and becomes a convert. It must be observed here that real conversion according to the Christian faith is strictly the work of the Holy Spirit and sometimes occurs in spite of the individual as in the case of Paul. Conversion is necessary for the growth and enrichment of spiritual experience; but *conviction* and *personal decision* should go before it. To deny the need of conversion is to claim to be superhuman, or to acquiesce in being subhuman.

"The Christian's primary task then is evangelism: to serve his neighbor with the Gospel, to bring him the living Christ, not just a word of forgiveness, but the God who accepts, forgives, empowers. 'Where there is forgiveness of sins, there is life and salvation'"<sup>3</sup>. The profound truth of the principle of the *universal priesthood of believers* strongly supports this thesis. Each Christian with his God-given gifts—the gift of salvation being the primary one—"is a Christ to his neighbor. It is for this that the Christians have been freed and united: *for service to our neighbor*."<sup>4</sup>.

According to the predominant conception in Hinduism *moksha* refers to the release or redemption of the spirit alone. The question of the whole man does not arise. But Christian faith believes in the redemption of the whole man—the religious, the social, the economic, and the political areas of life.

<sup>3</sup> Martin J. Heineken, "Jesus, The Christ, Alone Frees and Unites", LUTHERAN WORLD, Supplement No. 1, Vol. III, No. 1, June 1956, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, p. 26.

Man is body-and-soul, an organic unity and not a mechanical combination. So the redemption of my neighbor has to do with his health, his housing, his education, his work, his recreation. Furthermore, in the Bible the main stress is on the redemption of a whole *community*, whether Israel or the Christian church. In the New Testament the words implying redemption are nearly always used with plural objects (*vid.* Mk. 10:45; Gal. 3:13; Gal. 4:5). Donald M. Baillie has pointed out that we shall only understand this when we have recovered from the modern heresy of individualism. For Christianity is the religion of a redeemed and redeeming community, the church of Christ, which is God's supernatural instrument for drawing men back out of their alienation from each other, into community with himself and with one another. Therefore, service to our neighbor naturally extends beyond evangelism to action in the social, economic, and political spheres of life. To say it again in the words of Martin Heineken: "The one who says that God forgives and accepts and serves must also forgive, accept and serve. Otherwise he is not a 'faithful steward' of what is entrusted to him. *Stewardship*, therefore, is an even more inclusive word than evangelism. It means the whole of the Christian life in response to the love of God and the proper stewardship, therefore, of that with which God has entrusted a man."<sup>5</sup>

A few examples from the Indian scene will illustrate the Christian concern. The country has long been caste-ridden, though the foundations of the caste distinctions are being undermined today. What service has the Christian church rendered to the country in this sphere of life? An Indian church dignitary recently remarked that the government has already stolen the lead in abolishing caste and communal distinctions, whereas the church is still lingering behind. There is truth in this remark, for some of the Orthodox churches still keep the Harijan converts in the back pews or on the floor when they gather for worship. Serious divisions and strife on a caste basis are evident in the churches all over the country. An impression is gaining ground that caste differences are eventually disappearing in non-Christian organizations while they are finding a lasting and comfortable foothold in the churches. The church will do service to society in our country if it re-examines its life in this regard. Christians are freed and united: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:28).

The church's stand, however, in regard to what was termed Communal Award is to her credit. In the field of social service the activities of YMCA's and YWCA's and SCM's must be mentioned; they are indeed an example of Christian service. But they all stand in need of revival and revitalization. In the fields of medical aid and educational work the service of the church to the country is accepted on all hands as a Christian contribution. In the economic and industrial spheres of work, colonies of mercy, homes for the

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.



destitute, for the blind, widows' homes, etc. have been established where all are taken care of and are taught to work and to earn. The cottage industries which the government is popularizing nowadays, have long been taught and practiced by the church. In the realm of politics the church is still seeking its way. It has to organize itself so as to be heard. Its voice should be a witness to the love and power of God in Christ. It should be a prophetic voice fearing or favoring none. This should not be construed as other-worldliness; but it means an understanding of what true democracy and true liberty are. A representative spokesman of the Christian community, Dr. John Matthai, recently publically emphasized the need of a strong Opposition for the good of parliamentary democracy in our country. It was a real prophetic insight.

### Free and Unfree Service in the World

According to Christian faith man's life—his body-and-soul, his neighbors, his world, and everything else, his redemption, too,—is God's free gift. "By the grace of God I am what I am" (I Cor. 15:10). Very little thought is given to this free gift of God. Individuals and nations are proud of their achievements, their culture and civilization. But such gifts entail a special responsibility and duty for service. We have stated above that the Christian life is a life of service. We can now go one step further and say that this service which Christians render must be free. "Freely ye have received, freely give" (Matt. 10:8). In the spheres of service described above—the religious, the social, the economic, and the political—Christians should spontaneously and freely offer their cooperation in and contribution toward thought and work. Freedom of service consists precisely in this, that I exercise my talents and ability to think and plan, to work and earn in the way that I, as a Christian led by the Spirit, should and can; "for God is at work in me, both to will and work for his good pleasure" (Phil. 2:13). Therefore, there is no room in Christian service for an expectation of reward or praise except that the Christian servant has reason to thank and praise God for the grace that has helped and enabled him to carry out the tasks of service to his neighbor. "We are unworthy servants; we have only done what was our duty" (Luke 17:10).

It will be profitable here, too, to compare this service with the standpoint of Buddhism and Hinduism. In both religions desire is the seed of action and action the cause of birth; hence desire is the root of all evil. Root out desire, you will have *nibbana* or *moksha*. In the *Bhagavadgita*, however, there is a positive statement regarding the life of freedom and free service which presents a close similarity to the Christian view of service. Sri Krishna diagnoses the root cause of dismay on the part of Arjuna to be his attachment to and love for his relatives who would be killed as a result of his fighting. It was his attachment that daunted and dismayed him. He prescribed the precise course

of action that would dissuade him from the dismay and persuade him to fight the battle. He says (II, 47): "To action alone hast thou a right and never at all to its fruits; let not the fruits of action be thy motive; neither let there be in thee any attachment to inaction."

The exhortation not to allow one's mind or one's course of action to be swayed by consideration of the fruit of an action, implies freedom of action; but the belief at the back of this exhortation to detachment is that desiring the fruit of an action involves one in the cycle of existence, thus perpetuating human misery. Therefore such service does not refer to the redemption of body-and-soul or of society, but to the freedom or release of the soul from the cycle of existence. There is certainly an essential difference between this view and the Christian view of free service.

Is there such a thing as unfree service in the world? The clouds in the air are giving rain; the trees standing yonder are yielding their fruit; the cows give us their milk; our friends, our assistants—all give us adequate help and cooperation. Everywhere and all around there seems to be free and spontaneous service. Where is unfree service in the world? The question is worth investigating.

The question can be interpreted and answered broadly from two standpoints. First from the general standpoint. The contention of the propounders of *Nishkama Karma Yoga* is that, if one wants to decide upon one's course of action always in terms of the result or end—good result or bad result, success or failure—of that action, he can never act adequately or efficiently at all; possibly he may collapse under dismay and despondency as did Arjuna. At any rate, it cannot be a spontaneous and free act of service. A Christian should leave to God the result or end of his actions, for it is God who gives the result. This is free service. "I planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the growth" (I Cor. 3:6-7). But always to link up the motive of an act of service to the intention or the end result of that action is man pretending to assume absolute control of the act while God is the "author and fulfiller". Such anthropocentric service is certainly unfree.

The controversy over the thesis that the end justifies the means can be examined in this light. If the end of an act or of the policy of a regime is believed to be the dawn of the millennium, it is argued that, whatever be the means employed—nonviolent or violent, moral or immoral—for initiating and prosecuting the particular act or policy, these means are always justified because the end is good. There are several fundamental and subtle difficulties and dangers in this assumption. It is to be questioned if the dawn of the millennium can ever be a fact of realization on earth in view of the tragic tension and perversion of human nature. Every realization of a millennium not only creates new problems but also gives rise to the idea of a new millennium as an object of human efforts. The real Millennium of a new heaven and a new earth, however, will never come till time and history end in eternity where



God alone is the fulfiller. Therefore the idea of a millennium as projected by human imagination cannot assume absolute status so as to dictate or sanction infallible means. However, if the end is assumed to dictate infallible means, the acts of service rendered within the framework of these means are definitely unfree. The world speaks of Soviet Russia as having removed with marvelous success illiteracy and poverty in her lands; and the same world also speaks of her as a country behind an "iron curtain". Why should she curtain with iron her good services? Perhaps it is unfree service!

One of the most important contributions of Luther and the Reformation is the doctrine of vocation. In whatever work a man is engaged—whether in the school or in the kitchen, in the shop or in the field, in the factory or in the office—it is God's call and it is *service to his neighbor*. But today for too many, perhaps the majority, "work has become largely an economic concept which is destined to give significance to a steadily diminishing segment of human life. The Church must challenge both the idea of work as an economic concept and the work-idolatry to which the Church has itself contributed by too narrow an emphasis on work."<sup>6</sup> Service to society, to the church, should be, for a Christian, the motive of work of any job; but there is the modern perversion that an economic consideration takes precedence over that of service. I do not choose to work where I can serve best, but where I receive the highest pay. A serious difficulty in the church in India is that her young men are not coming forward to be registered for theological training to enter the ministry because the church cannot afford to pay them high salaries. The importance of the economic aspect of life is not being ignored here, but it is only being urged that, according to Christian faith, the motive of work should not be money but service.

It is remarkable, in fact wonderful, that the *Nishkama Karama* of the *Gita* makes no reservations of any sort in regard to the discharge of service to one's neighbor. Everyone, Christian as well as non-Christian, appears to be of the same opinion. But if we examine the forms of service to one's neighbor we are struck by the fact that they are all circumscribed by certain subtle limitations of self, of caste, of creed, and even of denomination. The contention here is not that there is any particular individual or group or nation that has absolutely eliminated these limitations. We only want to show that, tested by the principle of love of the Christian faith, so much of the service being rendered to the neighbor is unfree. Let us take some examples from contemporary life.

It is acknowledged by all that America has been offering ungrudging and abundant service in several areas of life on a world scale. Is the service thus offered free or unfree? The fact that the service is ungrudging and voluntary implies that it is free service. But there is then a limitation and at this point the service rendered is unfree. Secretary John Foster Dulles several times declared—and others never tried to cover up this fact—that America's service to the

<sup>6</sup> *The Expository Times*, September 1956, p. 355.

peoples of the world is no doubt based on love for them and is given with the hope that they might better be able to live and work. But—and here is their frankness and honesty—the Americans explicitly acknowledge that the service being offered is also based on a “hard-knotted self-interest”. In order to preserve their own freedom they are helping others to build up theirs so that they may all line up together in defense of freedom. Thus service rendered within the framework of this general limitation is circumscribed to some extent and is to that extent unfree.

Or another example taken from the sphere of church work. I quote from an article by E. Y. Campbell in *Darshan Magazine* of the S. C. M. in India. “How many programmes and projects of service in the Church are either to benefit Christians only, or for work with only Christian personnel to benefit others? In what city or village are there Christians poorer or needier than their brothers of other religions? By what text or example of Christ are the Christian poor dearer to God’s pity than the non-Christian poor? Are Christians, in the Church, glad when any individual serves his brother? Is service an absolutely essential ingredient of Christianity? Then why do we not join with others in service? Why should we start our own ‘community projects’? Why should we not throw our resources and personnel in with those whose aims are similar? We are not trying to prove that we, the existing registered Christians, can do better. We are trying to prove that any man in Christ can do better, love more clearly, serve without prejudice.”

It is Christian to acknowledge that our service here is limited by boundaries of religious denominations and differences of organization. An agency of service like that of Ramakrishna Mission has in several respects gone ahead of the church in rendering service. The church in India has to plan carefully and prayerfully its various types of work for service vis-a-vis other organizations operating in the country. The church should also constantly bear in mind the complex, or even sometimes paradoxical, situation presenting itself. “For he that is not against us is for us” (Mk. 9:40). “He who is not with me is against me, and he who does not gather with me scatters.” (Lk. 11:23.)

Is, therefore, service in the world unfree? According to the Hindu religious faith, man is determined both in his nature and in his action. Says Sri Krishna: “Even the man of knowledge acts in accordance with his own nature. Beings follow their nature. What can repression accomplish?” (Gita III, 33). Again, “Therefore arise thou and gain glory. Conquering thy foes, enjoy a prosperous kingdom. By Me alone are they slain already. Be thou merely the occasion, O Savyasacin (Arjuna)” (Gita XI, 33). Commenting on the first passage, Radhakrishnan says: “Nature (*prakriti*) is the mental equipment with which one is born, as the result of past acts. This must run its course. Sankara thinks that even God cannot prevent its operation.” That is, Karma, the result of past acts, determines one’s nature and it will inevitably work itself out in spite of the person. Commenting on the other passage, especially the words, “Be thou



merely the occasion" (*nimittamatram*), he says: "The decision is made already and Arjuna can do nothing to change it. He is a powerless tool in God's hands." In nature he is determined by Karma and in act he is determined by God. Where is freedom of action for man? Within the framework of this faith, is free service possible? It has not been under the auspices of religious but of political organizations that ameliorative campaigns and steps for the uplift of Harijans and backward classes and tribes have been organized. The assumption is that no one can help any other; no free service is possible.

The doctrine of original sin would have led to the same interpretation of man's nature and work but for the redeeming work of God in Jesus Christ. Man is never free, caught up as he is in the thralldom of lusts and vitalities of the flesh on the one hand, and in the tragic tension and opposition created by the freedom of spirit on the other. Thus we end up again with the question of St. Paul: "Wretched man that I am! Who will deliver me from this body of death?" Or rather with the thanksgiving which he finds as the answer to this question: "Thanks be to God through Jesus Christ our Lord!" (Rom. 7:22). Because of what God has done for us in Christ Jesus—reconciling the world unto himself—we are freed and are free to serve.

"For freedom Christ has set us free; stand fast therefore, and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery" (Gal. 5:1).

*Our liberation to unity with God and our call to serve our neighbor in the world are but two sides of the same coin. For our service has its source in thanksgiving for God's gift of himself in Christ as well as in following him who "came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life a ransom for many".*

Minneapolis Study Document,  
paragraph 53.

## Free and United in Hope

### Hope, Hopelessness, and False Hopes

It is inevitable that a consideration of the theme "Christ Frees and Unites" should lead us at last to the topic: "Free and United in Hope". The problem of hope is the essential problem of our time. In his essay "What Is Man?" Martin Buber distinguishes between two kinds of epochs in the history of the human spirit: epochs of habitation and epochs of homelessness. "In the former", he says, "man lives in the world as in a house, as in a home. In the latter, man lives in the world as in an open field and at times does not even have four pegs with which to set up a tent." In contrast to the secure world house of medieval man, and even to the cultural optimism of fifty years ago, our contemporary life is unmistakably a period of homelessness.

Homelessness and hopelessness go together. This is an "age of anxiety" in which man is confused and frightened. Within the limitless void of nature he is uncertain of his proper place. He must get along without assured answers to fundamental questions which he cannot help asking. And he has been both witness and victim of the most shocking brutality. Facing the threat of meaninglessness some have sought comfort in anesthetics—liquor, sex, aspirin, and tranquillizing drugs. Other sensitive spirits respond with the patient or the defiant despair of atheistic existentialism. Heine, Richter, Nietzsche, Sartre and Heidegger proclaim that "God is dead", and with God the mental and moral outlook of conventional Christendom. Heidegger affirms that we are lost in the deep woods where the familiar trails to reality are swallowed up in the thickets of confusion and we seek some footprint of the gods which may lead us out of the darkness. The widespread thought that existence is a sort of vicious circle within which men stand defenseless and alone has caused tragedy to regain its ancient place as a dominant form for interpreting our life in the world. The tragic is that plane of human existence where fulfillment is threatened by frustration and one's very being is menaced by nothingness. In speaking of the way in which men of our time encounter God Transcendent as "the awful negation of all finitude", Dr. Julian Hartt comes to the conclusion that "those who speak most powerfully to and for the men of this generation are the poets, artists, and philosophers who preach despair and sing of bleak encounter with silence and futility and non-being."<sup>1</sup>

Still others respond to the misfortunes, fears and anxieties of our time by sponsoring a kind of theological existentialism which has sought to make the

<sup>1</sup> Julian Hartt, *Towards a Theology of Evangelism*, New York: 1955, p. 15.



*kerygma* relevant to contemporary thought, but at the cost of divorcing faith from hope. By de-mythologizing and de-cosmologizing the *kerygma*, this position empties the concept of the eschatological of all that has reference to the future. Eschatology no longer speaks of a hope in an eternal future, but merely of new self-understanding for present-day man, arrived at through ultimate decision. Man is liberated by faith to create his future, not to hope for a promised future action of God, a fulfillment of history beyond death. Despite its freshness and courage, this theology must still answer the most serious questions about the relation of faith to hope, and its vitality is to be attributed to the pressures placed upon the church by despair and nihilism for a restatement of Christian eschatology.

The mood of homelessness begets not only hopelessness, but also false hopes, both secular and theological. The utopian dreams of humanists and Marxists look forward to the time when man will have organized the world in such a way that class-struggle, poverty, war, crime, anxiety, and evil in all forms will disappear. Chiliastic hopes in their apocalyptic, existential, or liberal forms also betray the New Testament teaching of a final judgment and the creation of a new heaven and a new earth by identifying the object of hope with a perfect kingdom to be established here on earth with Jesus Christ as its earthly ruler, or with the Christian's decision of faith, or with the progressive improvement of humanity under the influence of Christianity.

Thus, it is inevitable that in the face of the hopelessness and the false hopes of our time assemblies of Lutherans who seek to adhere to the Word and to their historical confessions should talk about Christian hope. But the word which the church must speak about hope is not determined by the desperate political situation nor by the disillusionment of modern man. It must proceed from the very nature of the gospel which the church has been charged to proclaim. The New Testament doctrine of the lordship of Christ plainly implies that his rule embraces not only the past and the present, but also the future. Thus, eschatology rests upon christology. The freedom we have in Christ is real and effective, but is possessed only fragmentarily until his return. The unity of the church will not be triumphantly manifested until Christ's return. In the ongoing reformation of the church we seek truer and truer ways of preaching God's truth, knowing that no human formulation can be absolute and that we can look for the perfect formulation only when God dwells with us in fullness. In the performance of our Christian service in the world we struggle against evil, knowing that evil will be finally overcome only at the return of Christ. At each of these points the presence of Christ has been portrayed as both possession and promise. His gifts to us are real and effective, but they are only partially realized. Therefore, the focus in this final topic falls upon fulfillment, completion, finality.

In this sense eschatology completes the structure of our theology. It is not an appendix to the rest of theology. It is rather the key to all other doctrines.

For the whole content of the Christian faith is oriented towards the *telos*, the end. Therefore, eschatology is the point at issue in the faith as a whole, without which it would cease to exist, as Paul points out when he says: "If Christ has not been raised, your faith is futile and you are still in your sins" (I Corinthians 15:17). For all man's questions imply in the last resort the one question as to the *telos*, the final goal and meaning of life.

### The Centrality of Salvation

It is our task to consider the consummation of salvation, the final goal and glory that awaits the church despite its present sufferings. The thought of the "advent" of God's fulfilling presence in life is the essence of the biblical message. From the very start of the saving story the central theme is that God comes to man, bringing salvation, which alone can give life its full meaning, its wholeness, its harmony. When God created the world and mankind, it was his purpose that mankind should be one family bound to him and to one another in love, and that the world should be a fit home for his children. In Genesis we see Adam and Eve living in intimate unity and understanding with themselves, with one another, and with nature so long as they are in unity with God. But their dominion over the earth and their harmony with one another depend on a right relation with God, the Source of existence. Once that relation is broken we see the break-up of unity on every level. Man, estranged from God, turns out to be estranged also from himself and from nature. Man and wife are estranged from one another, and among their children discord prevails, taking the form of jealousy, murder, the production of weapons, and the waging of war.

The fount of all man's troubles lies in the fact that his relations with God himself are poisoned and perverted. Having flouted God's good will, we are banished from his fellowship and left to our quarrels with ourselves and with one another. Because man lives in a state of contradiction against nature, against his brother, against himself, and against God, he is also in a state of bondage. He is no longer free but is confronted and limited at every turn by hostile forces which are too strong for him. The power of evil in the world around him, the power of sin in his own soul, and finally the power of death to put an end to his life, all combine to rob him of his freedom. And no power of his is enough to overcome these hostile powers.

To man in bondage and in self-contradiction, the message of salvation is sent. In announcing the theme of his letter to the Romans, Paul calls the gospel "the power of God unto salvation" (Romans 1:16). The gospel is God's *dynamis*, the word used elsewhere in the New Testament for a miracle or mighty work. The gospel is about God's mighty work in Christ. It is the proclamation of the continuing dynamic event by means of which God accomplishes the summing



up of all things in Christ, the healing of that which is broken, the releasing of man from his bondage, and the overcoming of the contradictions of which we have spoken. Thus, salvation is the fulfilling of God's original purpose in creation.

## The Ground of Salvation

The amazing fact of the resurrection was the starting point of the early Christian preaching. Jesus, whom they had seen taken out to his death and buried in the tomb of Joseph, had on the third day risen from the dead, left behind an empty tomb, and appeared to them in all the glory of a new creation. In the light of this fact, the events of Jesus' life, death, and ministry were interpreted as the beginning of the "last things" to which the prophets had looked forward. The kingdom of God had actually arrived. And this of course is exactly what Jesus had said at the beginning of his ministry. The healing miracles of Jesus were the sign that the "last days" had come. His death was the revelation of God's final judgment. His resurrection was the "first fruits" to prove that the final harvest was near. And the coming of the Holy Spirit was the fulfillment of Joel's prophecy about the "last days". In all these things the believers found evidence that through Christ they were already sharers in the coming kingdom of God.

Since he who died on the cross revealed himself to believers as the living Lord, they were sure that with Easter day the new aeon had dawned. The very existence of the church and the participation in the gifts of the Spirit were so many signs and operations of the world of the resurrection breaking into the present. The eternity to come has become a present reality. The life of the church is a messianic or eschatological existence. The ground of salvation, then, lies in the gracious, mighty act of God in Christ, an act which includes the sending of the Spirit and the creation of the church. This mighty act is an accomplished, objective, and contemporary reality. As Dr. Rudolf Stählin puts it: "The present existence of the church with her unique life, her being in the world and acting in it, her preaching, her sacraments and her ordinances, is to be understood as the break-through into the relativity of human history of that which is ultimate, unconditional, absolute, final."<sup>2</sup>

## The Dialectical Character of the Experience of Salvation

As we have seen, the New Testament affirms that the basic eschatological event has already taken place. The resurrection of Christ ushered in the new

<sup>2</sup> Rudolf Stählin, "The Church and the Break-through of the Eschata" in LUTHERAN WORLD, December 1956, Vol. III, No. 3, p. 247.

aeon and makes salvation an accomplished fact. Accordingly, we find in the New Testament a great emphasis upon the present blessings enjoyed by the church. But alongside the teaching which presents the kingdom as a present reality is another line of thought which looks to the future for its complete fulfillment. Jesus plainly taught that the kingdom is present but incomplete. The Messiah will return to carry God's purpose to final triumph. Throughout the New Testament the Christian hope has the double aspect of the experience of a present reality and the expectation of a future consummation.

The dialectical character of salvation-as-experienced is displayed in Paul's use of the term *arrabon*. To him the gift of the Spirit is a divine *arrabon*, translated in English as "guarantee". God's gift of his Spirit constitutes a "sample" of the future kingdom. Therefore, we do not merely long for salvation. We already experience it, but in the sense of a "down payment" or a "foretaste". Now a down payment is not a complete possession, but it is an assurance or guarantee that the full possession will be ours.<sup>3</sup> The same dialectic can be seen in the use of the term *parousia*, which signifies both presence and coming. The life of believers in the church is the life of the resurrection since it is the life of the risen Christ. Yet, it is resurrection life in its hiddenness, hence only a foretaste of the newness of life which the consummation will bring. The newness of life is as yet hidden and implicated in the body of this death. As Emil Brunner puts it: "The light of Christ can as yet be only refracted through the medium of this old existence whose sign is the being unto death."<sup>4</sup> Thus, the life in Christ of the believer is itself resurrection, yet only a waiting for the resurrection. Paul says it perfectly in Philippians 3:20 where he writes: "We are a colony of heaven and we wait for the Savior who comes from heaven" (Moffatt). And he writes to the Thessalonians: "You turned to God from idols, to serve a living and true God, and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, Jesus who delivers us from the wrath to come" (I Thessalonians 1:9-10).

The Christian life is, therefore, a dialectic of present and future, possession and promise, participation and anticipation. The church is a fellowship of the redeemed as well as a sphere in which world-consummation is awaited. An apprehension of the dialectical character of the Christian life helps us to understand why Paul should say that faith, love, and hope are inseparable (I Corinthians 13:13). That is what the title of this lecture declares: we are *free* and *united* in *hope*. That is, our freedom and unity, our faith and love, require hope in order to be fully real. Without hope, freedom and unity are depotentiated, incomplete, and perhaps meaningless. Apart from hope, freedom and unity may be valued present possessions but they cannot really advance one far beyond the position of Stoicism which courageously affirmed life and death within a context of cosmic resignation. Christian thought moves within the

<sup>3</sup> See *A Theological Word Book of the Bible*, ed. by Alan Richardson, New York: 1951, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Emil Brunner, *Eternal Hope* (trans. by Harold Knight), Philadelphia: 1954, p. 146.



context of cosmic salvation, for the New Testament explicates the coming of God to man in the three dimensions of time: he has come, he is present, he will come. In this unity of faith, love, and hope consists the existence of the church. To remove one of these dimensions means to destroy the whole. Faith is nothing when it is not active in love. Faith and love are nothing when they cannot be fulfilled in that for which man hopes. This certainly must be Paul's thought when he writes: "If Christ has not been raised, then our preaching is in vain and your faith is in vain . . . For if the dead are not raised, then Christ has not been raised. If Christ has not been raised, your faith is futile and you are still in your sins. Then those also who have died in Christ have perished. If in this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most to be pitied" (I Corinthians 15:14-19).

Thus, freedom and unity require hope as a safeguard against the threat of non-being. Hope makes faith and love meaningful because it assures us that nothing can separate us from the love of God in Christ (Romans 8:38). Even though each one will have to undergo the experience of physical death, he will not die into nothingness but into Christ.

### **The Place of Hope in Man's Double Existence**

Hope is thus an essential part of the Christian life. This hope is not a mere desire for something uncertain. It is not the same as day-dreaming nor is it like the unfounded optimism which Charles Dickens personified in Mr. Micawber, who was always hoping for "something to turn up". Christian hope has a more solid foundation. It rests upon the achievement of God's saving work in the past and upon the present experience of living in the midst of that saving work. Through the death and resurrection of Jesus we have been brought to repentance and rebirth as God's children, and we live in the fellowship of his Spirit.

And yet we still also live in the world. Our "old man" remains. We are all part and parcel of this world which is still under the power of sin and death. So we have a sort of double existence. We taste salvation even now but we cannot have it fully until God's saving work is completed. Luthers's doctrine of the two kingdoms is based upon Paul's concept of the two aeons. Those who must live simultaneously in the two aeons will experience a tension which can be resolved only by the future completion of Christ's triumph.

In the light of the Christian's double existence, hope appears as a joyful assurance about the completion of God's saving work in Christ. Paul told the Philippians: "I am sure that he who began a good work in you will bring it to completion at the day of Jesus Christ" (Philippians 1:6). But God does not want to take out of the world a few individuals who wish for their own happiness. He loves the world and longs for its salvation. Therefore, those who have

received his Spirit will also share this love and longing. It is part of our Christian life that we long for, pray for, work for, and hope for the consummation of God's saving purpose for the whole world. Hope is essential to the Christian life as the "forward look" by which we anticipate the day when Christ's love has won its full victory, and all things are enfolded and made one in him.

In this epoch of "homelessness" the place of hope in the Christian life can be more clearly explicated if we ask: What is the human question to which hope is the answer? Any region of thought or activity will lead us in the end to ask what human life is all about, whether there is any goal to which we can move, or be moved, any meaning in the drama of history. Has my life, has the life of humanity, has the life of the world, any meaning? Will history have a conclusion which will satisfy every profound and legitimate longing of man, or is the life of mankind a measureless, meaningless drift, subject only to endless change? Is there at the heart of the universe only a great hole through which all the faith and sacrifice, all the loving and loyalty, all the yearning of the race pours age after age and is lost? Philosophy has been concerned with this question since the dawn of human thought and the greatest literature of all languages has portrayed man grappling with his destiny. Yet there is a deep skepticism in many minds today as to whether any answer can be given. The question takes on an even more radical character if we ask whether the freedom and unity which we know in immediate experience are really bestowed, sustained, and endorsed by the Deity, who is the Source of existence, the Lord of history, and the Lover of every human soul, or are they merely complicated by-products of the primal instinct for survival? Is the life of the Christian community grounded in transcendent reality, or is it merely a human product, a sociological formulation? Is the Christian way reality or illusion?

The answer must be that the wayfaring man has no guarantee of the validity of the Christian faith and life. That is, we have no guarantee in the sense of an invincible demonstration or an indestructible achievement. The essentials of the Christian faith cannot be proved as one proves either scientific propositions or metaphysical theories. For that matter, no belief about the nature of the world, no interpretation of all the facts of existence, is intellectually compelling or demonstrative. There are difficulties and unresolved enigmas in every serious program of thought. But any Christian theology which is obedient to the biblical revelation starts right out from the presupposition that the being and will of God are disclosed not so much in the permanent structures and essences of existence, as in historical disclosures of which the career of Christ is the climax. Since any encounter between selves must be a matter of faith and love rather than rational guarantees, the proof that we encounter a God who is above the structures and forms of existence can only take the shape of a life which finds itself embedded in a web or pattern of grace, a community of relations right within actual history which gives new dimensions and



meaning to every event. This is to say that the only effective witness of the truth of Christ is a life in which anxieties and fears, including the fear of death, have been overcome, and in which the prison of self-love has been broken so that the self can live in "love, joy, and peace" and can enter creatively into the lives of others.

Thus, we do not look for any guarantees, rational, moral, or ecclesiastical. Yet, we do have a guarantee, not in the sense of an intellectually compelling argument, but in the sense of a self-validating participation in a newness of life which raises us above the evil plots of the world and a future-creating anticipation of a final goal which will crown the life of both the individual and the universe with meaning. We have no finite securities or guarantees but we do have a deep conviction which grows out of our knowledge of the Christ who has come and who is present. We know Christ in the encounter of faith and trust. Thus, our hope is actually faith with a vision, or trust directed towards the future. This means that faith and hope can never be separated from risk, venture, and courage. And it means that for children of the Reformation the enterprise of rational theology cannot undertake the task of creating or guaranteeing belief in God. Its task is not that of demonstrating the rationality of faith but of seeking to discover, so far as possible, the rationale of a faith and a hope courageously affirmed against all odds.

It is not surprising that Paul should speak of our hope as a "mystery" (Colossians 1:27). By "mystery" the Bible does not mean a riddle to which the answer has not been found, nor a problem which can be got rid of by appropriate thought or action. Nor by mystery do we mean that which is unreal or meaningless. Mystery belongs to things so intensely real and meanings so profoundly significant that thought and speech are overwhelmed in the attempt to define and articulate them. In Paul's own Bible, the Septuagint, the word *mysterion* refers to the hidden plans of God, now disclosed by revelation. In pre-Christian Jewish literature in general, the term means the secret plans of a king or general. These plans are his secret since no one knows them until he tells them. Thus, *mysterion* is a technical term in the Bible and it means an "open secret". It refers to a truth which was once hidden but is now revealed. But since it is a divine secret, even though it is now open, it is still too great for the understanding. A mystery, then, is a truth about God's purpose which was formerly inaccessible, is now revealed, but remains unfathomable. Our participation in Christ, "the hope of glory", is such a "mystery".

This means that the view of the world which the Bible presents is not, as Daniel Jenkins puts it, that of "a floodlit stage, where all is clear and sharply defined". Rather, "it is that of a world of mystery, wonderful and bewildering, where, out of darkness and shadows, a light shines and a voice speaks. The light is sufficient to illuminate our path and the voice is clear enough to give

essential directions, but darkness remains around the path."<sup>5</sup> Certainly Luther, Goethe, and Albert Schweitzer are right in saying that to exist as a human being is to be surrounded by mystery.

In this world, says Paul, "we walk by faith, not by sight" (II Corinthians 5:7). The fourth chapter of Romans is especially valuable for the light it throws on Paul's conception of faith. The faith of Abraham was the faith of a wayfarer, a man who lived without earthly securities. Abraham found himself in the presence of the Sovereign Creator, the God "who gives life to the dead and calls into existence the things that do not exist" (Romans 4:17). It seemed impossible that God's promise of a family should come true. Yet, Abraham took God at his word and against all the odds threw himself obediently into the pattern of God's power and goodness. He "hoped against hope" that God's promises would come true in the future, and his faith, instead of wilting, grew ever stronger (Romans 4:18-21). Now, says Paul, since God has revealed himself to us decisively in Christ, Christian faith is a taking of God at his word in Christ. It is the decision to live no more by reliance on our own resources, but only by trust in his saving grace offered to us in Christ right in the center of time and space.

The special quality of Abrahamic faith lies in his readiness to commit himself unconditionally into the hands of God, doing whatever God asked without hesitation, however mysterious and paradoxical the commands and promises might be. With this readiness to take God's commands seriously is necessarily bound up the serious acceptance of God's promises for the future. Thus, faith implies hope. And at the conclusion of Romans 4 Paul declares that the Sovereign Creator and Fount of Being has "raised from the dead Jesus our Lord" (Romans 4:24-25). He is therefore the Lord of Eternity. He confronts us as Origin and Destiny. The life which Paul describes is new from moment to moment. The stability of achieved knowledge and virtue cannot guarantee the future, for the future is the sphere of the radically unknowable. But the Christian walks with God, moving forward to a goal which only his Guide can clearly see. He is a pilgrim and a sojourner in the world. His commitment or presupposition is verified by the experience of being carried onward in a course which has transcendent direction and meaning, although he could not have plotted it for himself. As Karl Barth puts it: "While the world around him cried 'No', Abraham cried 'Yes', because he was supported by the Word of God."<sup>6</sup> Dr. Rudolf Stählin rightly defines faith as man's "unconditional freedom and absolute courage to lay himself bare to the unknown future which belongs to God". Thus, he says, "we have our real being through the fact that we lay ourselves open to God and his future and through the fact that, in continual transition from what has been to what God in his love accomplishes in us, we receive our being from God".<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Daniel Jenkins, *Believing in God*, Philadelphia: 1956, pp. 12-13.

<sup>6</sup> Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans*, Oxford: 1953, p. 142.

<sup>7</sup> Rudolf Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 252.



## The Content of the Hope

We have just spoken of faith as openness to the future which is exclusively in God's control. The unknown holds no terrors for the Christian because he trusts his Guide to lead him through its perils to a fulfillment at the end of life's journey. But can we say any more than this about that for which we hope? What exactly do we hope for? The center of our hope is nothing other than Christ himself. We cannot hope for anything apart from him. It is in him that we have received the revelation of God, have been judged, forgiven and born again. The Christ for whom we wait is the Christ we have already known in the past and present and he gives content to our hope.

Christ came into this world as its Judge and its Savior. Because in his vicarious atonement Christ was judged *for* the world, he is also the Judge *of* the world. God acted in the death and resurrection of Christ to overrule the evil plots of men and thus ended the powers of the old aeon. By ending or judging the old world, Christ creates the new world. As Dr. Edmund Schlink said at Evanston, Christ is the hope of the world not because he guarantees its preservation, but because he ends the world by liberating us from its binding ties and by gathering together from every corner of the earth his people and unifying them into a new humanity. We cannot hope for Christ as Savior unless we look for him as Judge.<sup>8</sup> As Savior, Judge, and risen Lord Christ gives us the freedom and unity which have been expounded in earlier articles. When we say that Christ is our hope we mean that we look for the completion of what his love has already given us. When he comes again it is *this* freedom and unity that he will perfect.

## Hope and the Delay of the Consummation

In the cross God's judgment and his salvation are revealed, but they are not fully consummated. It is there revealed that the whole human race is under the condemnation of God's holiness. But God has not carried out that sentence of condemnation. He holds it back, so to say, in order to give men time to repent. He sends out his church to tell all men the gospel in order that they may repent and be saved. Thus, this time in which we live is the time of God's patience. The long-suffering of God is the category under which world-history falls. Consequently, time is not a quantitative, but a qualitative reality. "Past, present, and future are not separable fragments of an endlessly outstretched line, but dimensions and directions within the living interaction of God and men."<sup>9</sup> The biblical view of time embraces both passage, or *chronos*, and

<sup>8</sup> Edmund Schlink, "Christ—the Hope of the World", in *The Christian Century*, August 25, 1954, Vol. LXXI, No. 34, p. 1003.

<sup>9</sup> Robert L. Calhoun, "Christ—the Hope of the World", in *The Christian Century*, August 25, 1954, Vol. LXXI, No. 34, p. 1005.

opportunity, or *kairos*, but the accent falls on *kairos* as the fulfilling of *chronos*.<sup>10</sup> We live from that which is no more toward what is not yet through a slender boundary line called "now". Each present moment merges into the next and that into yet another. The moment is but a point in time, yet temporal passage can never extinguish its character as a standpoint, a point of departure. This means that there are fresh beginnings all along the way. Thus, time witnesses to the patience and forgiveness of God. The present is man's time for freedom, man's God-given opportunity.

What is the church's task during this time of its growth? The fathers of the Reformation interpreted the New Testament as saying that the members of Christ's Body must preach the gospel to the whole world, and accept responsibility for the just ordering of society. God the Sustainer, who gives time to decide for Jesus Christ, commands us to take responsibility for the preservation of all human life and for the maintenance of human freedom. Bishop Dr. Hanns Lilje reminds us that it is simply not true that the Lutheran doctrine of the justification of the sinner must result in a program of otherworldliness, for the service of God is possible only within the framework of the ordinances that God has given to the world.<sup>11</sup> Luther said: "The sphere of faith's works is worldly society and its order." Dilthey justly remarked: "With this sentence there enters into history one of the greatest organizing thoughts that a man has ever had." Augustine had said earlier: "The city of God gives birth to citizens here." Thus, faith in God means faith in God as both Creator and Redeemer. It refers to both earth and heaven. In this temporal life we have values to live and die for. The structures of human justice and love are real values, even though limited and perishable, and they come to us as gifts and tasks from God, who directs us to work for social justice and to speak for the oppressed.<sup>12</sup>

This reference to the church's earthly task raises the question as to the relation between eschatology and ethics, between hope and deeds of love. It can be said only briefly that the attitude of expectancy does not imply any sort of world-denial. The apostles were not preoccupied with the future at the expense of what needs to be done in the present. Actually, the eschatological expectation gives the strongest sort of incentive to Christian living. Paul urged that because "the day is at hand", Christians should "cast off the works of darkness" and "live sober, upright, and godly lives in this world". The expectation of the End at which point all things human must experience death and judgment and we must give an account of our stewardship to our Lord, gives the church at least a relative freedom from subservience to any given cultural forms, political idolatries, or interested economic strivings. It is set free from the pressure to compromise with partial perspectives which masquerade as the

<sup>10</sup> See *A Theological Word Book of the Bible*, ed. by Alan Richardson, New York: 1951, pp. 258-267.

<sup>11</sup> Hanns Lilje, Editorial, LUTHERAN WORLD, Spring 1954, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 4.

<sup>12</sup> See Ragnar Bring, "Faith in the Future and Hope of Eternal Life", in LUTHERAN WORLD, Autumn 1954, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 211.



whole truth. This expectation sets the church free from complacency in time of prosperity and discouragement in time of trouble. It prevents the church from treating with arrogance any creative efforts to solve human problems and enables it to speak realistically, sympathetically, and relevantly to men of every age.

But, as the Assembly Study Document reminds us, the church should not be under any illusion that either its proclamation or its service will be accepted by the world in the way the church intends them. The church must be prepared for opposition and persecution at the hands of the world which will reject it or seek to manipulate it. But the church must be firm at this point and proclaim fearlessly the Word of liberation and unity. The fearless and faithful church will, however, soon find itself the suffering church. Thousands in our generation have known what it is to bear this cross. Yet, not even this distress is outside the will and purpose of God. The teachings of Jesus portray history as a battleground between God and the demonic powers opposing him. He described in dark colors the troubles that would precede his coming. Luke records that Paul visited the pioneer congregations in Asia Minor, "strengthening the souls of the disciples, exhorting them to continue in the faith, and saying that through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom of God" (Acts 14:22). This struggle against the assaults of evil will continue to the end.

The New Testament affirms in the symbol of the Antichrist the fact that the historical world stands under the influence of forces hostile to Christ and God. Just as there is a growth of the good seed sown by God himself, so also there is a growth of tares sown by the power of evil. It is significant that almost the last sermon of Luther was preached upon the parable of the tares, for in the last years of his life he had to witness the growing tendency of his friends and allies to rely more on political power than upon the Word of God. The figure of the Antichrist in Scripture "represents for each age the actual battlefield where the conflict between Christ and his enemies is raging", says Dr. T. A. Kantonen.<sup>13</sup> For John it was the Roman state, for Luther the Roman church and for thousands today it is the totalitarian police-state. For other thousands it is the corrupting wordliness and secularized culture of our day. Even the fundamental impulse towards religion is susceptible to demonization. Speaking as an American in this era of power politics, one must confess that in our land group egotism very easily takes a distinctive religious form. Reinhold Niebuhr made the following observation after he had heard and read a large number of speeches delivered at college and high school graduation exercises: "If one may judge by the various commencement utterances . . . Americans have only one religion: devotion to democracy. They extol its virtues, are apprehensive about the perils to which it is exposed, pour maledictions upon its foes, rededicate themselves periodically to its purposes, and claim unconditioned validity for its ideals. Does not the very extravagance of our devotion prove

<sup>13</sup> T. A. Kantonen, *The Christian Hope*, Philadelphia: 1954, p. 62.

that we live in a religiously vapid age, in which even Christians fail to penetrate to the more ultimate issues of life?" In America we are not oppressed by legal and financial hindrances, but we tend to confuse the will of God with our own way of life. There are many things for which we must be grateful in our political, economic, and social life, but we must be exceedingly self-critical lest we turn the values we cherish into an idol called "Americanism". This point of view makes the democratic way of life the object of a super faith that reduces Christian faith to secondary importance. Worst of all, even the church is subject to demonization in many forms when it allows the universal gospel to be hardened into any sort of institutional, moral, or theological provincialism which makes claims to finality. In America today we see in the so-called "return to religion" a double danger. On the one hand there is the tendency to see God as a kind of national asset in the struggle against foreign foes, and on the other hand there is the tendency to use God as a personal resource for mental health and financial success, still leaving the self as the center of interest. Lest the church fall captive to the motives and standards of business, the state, and "Suburbia", it must point faithfully to the God of Jesus Christ. It must not point to Christianity, to faith, to religious experience, to church, nation, or culture, but only to the God of faith.

The Revelation of St. John was written to a persecuted church which hoped for the speedy return of its Lord. The writer describes the martyr faith that God rules even when his enemies seem to be in power and that the church which "endures to the end" will share in his triumph. It seems hardly proper for one who has lived in a sheltered church to speak about the martyr faith to those who have been persecuted, deprived of their freedom, and imprisoned. Let us instead turn to the testimony of a European, given by Dr. Edmund Schlink at Evanston: "God winnows and sifts his church in order to test it and purify it . . . But he who submits to the powerful hand of God and takes up his cross soon realizes that Christ has long since taken it up for him. Through their suffering believers share together with Christ; through their humiliation, their imprisonment and their death, the crucified Christ becomes visible in the world and demonstrates the power of his resurrection. Those are God's most beloved children to whom he grants to praise him not only with the songs of their lips but also with the sacrifice of their lives and so to bear witness to Christ. Their defeat is in reality their victory. It is not the powerful, privileged church which the world recognizes, but the helpless, suffering church which reveals the glory of Christ. It is the church which dies with Christ that is the church triumphant . . . We do not know what results our evangelism and our struggle for a just society will have in this world, but we know the most important thing we need to know—that our work is not in vain in the Lord."<sup>14</sup>

But the New Testament contains not only the symbol of the Antichrist, but also that of the millennium. Just as the former represents the power of evil

<sup>14</sup> Schlink, *op. cit.*, p. 1010.



at work until the last day, so the latter symbolizes the Christian hope of progress derived from faith in God's action in history. It is the theme of the Acts of the Apostles that nothing can stop the progress of the gospel. The World of God spreads despite all resistance on the part of men. Scripture has too much to say about the relevance of the Christian hope to the present world to allow pessimism and defeatism to have the last word. This world will never slip out of God's control nor offer any insuperable obstacle to the carrying out of his plans. Although the idea of the millennium is subject to a variety of interpretations, it certainly points to God's control of the future on earth as well as in heaven. It suggests that there will be some connection between history and the new creation, although we do not understand the nature of that connection.

Yet, although the Christian view of history is basically optimistic, it is marked by a deep awareness of the tragic dimension of life. We have no right to believe, in the light of recent events, that earthly history is being progressively purged of evil and is steadily nearing perfection. Dr. Wingren reminds us that those who work for righteousness run the risk of thinking that "social work today and Christ's return in the future are parts of a continuing process and that our actions would in a continuing, organic way move over into the ultimate events".<sup>15</sup> There is certainly a continuity between our Christian social action and the hope of Christ's coming. But there is also a discontinuity, for the future will not grow harmoniously into the realm of Christ. Rather, the church faces a time of temporary deterioration. But "in the midst of deterioration there is a place for hope" because "the tribulations through which the church has to pass have already been borne by the Lord of the church".<sup>16</sup> Thus, our way as Christians is a way through death to life.

### The Consummation of Salvation: The Fulfillment of Hope

God will come at the end of history to consummate both judgment and salvation. There are judgments or separations being carried out unceasingly within history. Yet, a final discrimination within history is not to be expected. We must live in a stage of confusion when good and evil are intermingled and reward and penalty are not distributed according to any obvious standard. But just as resurrection puts an end to death, so judgment terminates the state of confusion and obscurity. Thus it is that judgment can be an object of hope. For God will himself expose every lie and redress every wrong.

But the Christian rejoices not merely in the abolition of all negations and inconclusiveness, but also in the fulfillment of life and meaning for the individual, the race, the church, and the cosmos. If the world has a purpose it

<sup>15</sup> Gustaf Wingren, "Eschatological Hope and Social Action", in LUTHERAN WORLD, Spring 1954, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 26-27.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

must also have a conclusion. According to the New Testament, this conclusion is the return of Christ. He who holds the meaning of the universe must bring it to its ultimate conclusion. When the Christian affirms that Christ will come again at the last day, he is affirming his faith that, perverted as it is by many evils, this world is still God's world, that history is never seen as out of control, that the final victory will lie with God, that the purpose of creation will be achieved, that no good deed will ever have been done in vain, that no true love, no lovely thing will ever be lost. God will gather his kingdom to himself. Not an enemy will be left to trouble the endless peace. The universe itself will be remade, nature as well as human nature will be redeemed, and God will "sum up all things in Christ" (Ephesians 1:10). The "foretaste" of love and grace which Christ has given us makes us eager to share with him in the pain and sorrow of the world's redemption, in confident hope of the day when we and all his people shall enter into his joy together, and he shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied.

*Since our hope is in Christ and in the revelation and consummation of his kingdom, the realization of our freedom and unity is ultimately a matter of hope. The life of the Church, therefore, is based upon the return of Christ and the coming in glory of his kingdom.*

Minneapolis Study Document,  
paragraph 69.



# FROM THE WORK OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION AND THE ECUMENICAL WORLD

## GENEVA DIARY

The Geneva Diary can this time be called the Minneapolis Diary. This is written on the eve of the Assembly from the offices provided for the L. W. F. by Lutheran Brotherhood—a multi-million dollar insurance company. The new building is an epitome of modernity in construction with all the latest conveniences and gadgets. One feels curiously at home in these new surroundings and yet one feels also a strange loneliness.

An American returning home after six years of living abroad, having traveled to every continent during that time, senses immediately the new atmosphere in this so-called new world. The most obvious paradox is the apparently high economic standard and material well-being on the one hand and the wide interest in religion and the growing interest in the churches on the other hand. Another paradox is that while the church has never "had it so good" and has reached new high percentages of membership, widespread juvenile delinquency, the climbing crime statistics and fantastic divorce rates are characteristic of American life. The religious milieu in the U. S. A. and Canada today is one which is devoid of any organized or public antagonism to the church. Certainly there are large numbers of skeptics, agnostics and atheists, but their efforts seem to have been neutralized.

Sometimes the attempts at religiosity take on almost phenomenal form. The idea of calling a certain telephone number to listen to a certain kind of prayer, the use of chimes on bank buildings, department stores and other public buildings for playing Christian hymns are but a few of the more apparent ones. There are many minds within the church which have observed this development and are pointing out with great clarity the inherent dangers in such superficial elements in religion. The pastors are the first to admit that the increased attendance and membership needs to be carefully examined.

Our own Lutheran churches are part of this general pattern. A few comments may be in order to point up the particular situation facing our churches here. The fact that there is an overwhelming number of congregations which use only the English language indicates a trend that has been going on for decades. The early churches of the East Coast have, of course, been Americanized long ago. But even the European immigrants of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth have, as a result of two world wars, given up their foreign languages. The process of becoming genuinely indigenous groups is, therefore, almost complete.

The motion picture, "Martin Luther" and its wide popular appeal in cinemas and now on television is one factor in the public's growing acquaintance with the existence and character of Lutheranism. The use of news, publications and other techniques has also placed our churches on the map of America. Much more important, however, is the fact that our theological scholars are beginning to make significant contributions not only within our own churches but in the total theological picture in America. It is in this latter realm that the greatest future potential of American Lutheranism lies.

In connection with this Assembly American Lutherans will, to a greater extent than ever before, be genuinely interested in the life and work of our churches all over the world. There are two reasons for this avid interest, 1) America, and particularly church people in America, have had to concern themselves with the rest of the world because of the new responsibilities thrust upon them and 2) the great outpouring of gifts by Lutheran congregations since 1939 has necessitated a vast program of education on the history, traditions and problems of other churches. The response to Lutheran World Action, the

fund-raising program of the National Lutheran Council, and the channeling of these resources through the L. W. F. have been a help and a blessing but also an indication that churches here in the U. S. A. are widely aware of their Christian responsibility to the churches of every continent.

Non-Americans will find pastors and congregations eager to have people from abroad preach in their pulpits and describe their churches. There is an open-hearted hospitality and genuine warmth and freshness that may seem to non-Americans a little superficial and over-done.

Visitors from outside the U. S. will find a divided Lutheranism in America. Desperate efforts are being made to unite our churches and there have been solid achievements. The question, however, is still how three large blocs of Lutherans can achieve real unity. We pray that in our discussions on the theme some help can be given in this moment of Lutheran church history to give some guide lines.

So many questions have been asked regarding the reason for such an assembly. Why call together so many delegates and official visitors? Why spend so much money in travel and other costs on a meeting when there are so many other desperate needs? These are honest questions which deserve honest answers. Let me give only three.

1. To conduct our business and plan our program. The simple fact is that any organization needs to examine its record periodically and to authorize further work. In the case of the L. W. F. this happens to come every five years. Since the highest authority for the L. W. F. is an assembly of officially elected delegates we shall be electing officers and members of the Executive Committee, we shall be hearing reports on activities of the five-year period just past and authorizing plans for programs in the time ahead. In a rapidly changing society we shall need to think clearly and plan carefully how we can best serve one another.

2. To discover ourselves. By this phrase we mean the nature of our unity as Lutheran churches. Set against the background of centuries of church history we have had only a few decades—actually only one as a Federation—to explore what we are and what we have in common. After centuries of isolation it should not be surprising that it may take some time and effort to learn to know one another and to articulate our common faith. This Assembly is only one step in that direction. This is the first time in our very short Federation history that we have used a theme which goes to the heart of the question of our inner unity. We are obviously facing a risk in opening up for serious study and discussion these basic doctrines. We may find our differences greater than we realized and wider than can be solved through a Federation like ours. Thus delegates have a heavy responsibility both in adequately representing the churches on these questions and also in trying to help one another to give answers to them.

3. To contribute to ecumenicity. Our Lutheran church is committed to Christian unity. This should never be forgotten or neglected. Broadly speaking, we are committed to this by being true to our understanding and teaching based on the Holy Scriptures and on our Confessions of faith. Accepting these two basic commitments, we must study and discuss "Christ Frees and Unites" in the light of how seriously we accept our responsibility toward the ecumenical movement. In one sense this is our basic reason for existence as a confessional movement. When we take the command of Christ seriously we must pray, we must strive and we must work for the unity of the church. This task is urgent and compelling. Our Study Document, the lectures at the Assembly, our discussion groups and our final consensus are all meant to contribute to the fulfillment of this task.

Welcome to the Assembly! Pray for it!

Carl E. Lund-Quist



## World Mission

### Lutheran Episcopacy\*

God creates out of nothing, through the Word and the Sacraments, by grace alone, his church on earth. As it grows and becomes not only an invisible, mysterious union with God, but also a visible organization, the question naturally arises as to how the church can best be organized to fulfill its purpose within the framework of God's Kingdom.

#### Where can we look for a pattern of organization?

There are three possibilities for organization from secular life which immediately come to mind: 1) to use the same social structure in organizing the church that already exists in the secular community life of a people or tribe; 2) to take over the highly developed parliamentary procedure of Western democracy; 3) to introduce some kind of dictatorship. Before we go further it might be worthwhile to analyze these three possibilities a little more closely.

#### In the tribe?

Each tribe or people has, through the years, developed its own system of administration. One can see these systems at work in the life of a family, of a village, or even of broader sections of society. For the purposes of this study we want to point out two aspects commonly found in such systems: 1) the certain kind of cooperation that has developed between a chief and the adult members of his tribe, and 2) the special respect for the oldest members of a tribe or family. The administration of daily life which has come down to a tribe through generations of experience is accepted without question. In a tribal culture it seems quite natural to say that the church should

be organized along the same pattern that has proved so efficient in the daily life of the community. But while some impulses from secular life may be of great value in the organization of a church, it must be remembered that social structure is something that has been designed by man and dictated by the needs of man in his civic life. It is true that the first Christian church partially inherited the framework of the Old Testament Hebrew community. But that was a unique situation, the children of Israel being God's chosen people, especially prepared by God to receive his revelation. Aside from the fact that tribal social structure is "man-made", it is sometimes true that a heathen religion is so interwoven in it that it would be completely impossible to use that same structure in the organization of a Christian church, even though only the pattern were to be imitated. We know of situations where the social structure of a people has predisposed that people to accept Christianity; for instance, the *adat* system among the Bataks in Sumatra. But such a situation may also confine the existence of Christianity to strict tribal areas, and it is without the dimension of expansion and the power to cross tribal and racial borders which are so much a part of living Christianity. Therefore when it comes to deciding what kind of church order is best for a certain people, it is not enough to say, "We are used to a special system in our tribe and consequently we want a similar organization in our church".

Since the life of the church is first of all spiritual, it is not reasonable to think that the best way for the Christian church to be organized among a people would be to follow the pattern of its social structure. This has been a temptation to the Christian church everywhere in the world; it is not particularly an African problem. Yet tendencies and impulses coming into a church from secular life may be of great value, and it is obvious that the Christian church should understand and take these into consideration. The sound respect for the father found in so many African societies is something that comes quite close to the respect a Christian congregation has for its pastor. The respect that Africans often have for their chief, who is given authority by his people and through his heritage, is worth remembering also while

\* Dr. Birkeli, Director of the LWF Department of World Mission, has prepared this memorandum for the leaders of the younger churches of Africa in response to a resolution of the First All-Africa Lutheran Conference at Marangu, Tanganyika, 1955, requesting that materials be prepared which would throw light upon the implications of an episcopal church order. Since this was to be a short statement, many details had to be omitted. Gratitude is expressed to Prof. Leonhard Goppelt of Hamburg for his assistance with some of the New Testament material.

building a Christian church. So is the remarkable cooperation that often exists between a chief and the adult members of his tribe. We must limit our examples here, though, and say that we are thinking only of those chiefs who, though heathen, have the best interest of their people at heart and who act accordingly. The simple African structure of life is often closer to the New Testament community than other social structures, but that does not make it "ready to use" as a pattern for church order.

### **Western democracy?**

Western democracy has developed a highly efficient system of administration. It is based upon a wish to give justice to everybody and to make the administrative order work as smoothly as possible. It has been said many times that the establishment of the church in Africa would be best if the church were organized according to Western democracy; this would prevent a great number of mistakes. However, again it must be stated that a system suitable for administration of the state and political life is not necessarily suitable for the Christian church. Democratic procedure means simply that from time to time the majority must decide what human life should look like. The Christian church is something different. There it is *not* the majority, but the right understanding of the Word of God that decides. While we have to admit here, too, that there might certainly be impulses coming out of the system of Western democracy that could be used in one way or another in the life of the Christian church, it is not at all self-evident that the organization of the Christian church must be on a Western democratic pattern.

### **Dictators?**

Again and again we have seen that when a nation is in difficulty or faces a crisis, a dictatorship is thought to be the solution of all troubles. Superficially, dictatorship looks very efficient; things are really accomplished. But dictatorships are born out of crises and degrade men. A dictator is a person who, with or without any right granted by the people or given through heritage, takes power, and his will becomes the law of the people. Christianity is almost impossible under a dictatorship. It deprives

men of their God-given dignity as human beings, and requires obedience to man rather than obedience to God.

None of these three possibilities, therefore, really offers a suitable pattern for Christian church order, although the first mentioned, more probably than the others, would have elements in it which could have relevance. This is, however, only a possibility; on the whole we must maintain very strongly that because of the very nature of the Christian church we cannot take its organization directly from the structure of the society in which it is established, from Western democracy or from the dictatorial system.

### **Does Christian or Lutheran church history have an answer to the problem of proper church order?**

If the Christian church is going to look for patterns for its organization, a more advisable place to look would be to examples in the history of the Christian church. There have been through the centuries and still are today a great number of different church organizations at work around the world. It will not be possible to discuss them all here, but suffice it to say that God has permitted and used for the advancement of his Kingdom different kinds of church organizations. Even among the Lutheran churches, we can find examples of congregational Lutheranism, presbyterial-synodical Lutheranism and episcopal Lutheranism. In fact, in parts of the world today Lutheran churches with different organizational structures are working side by side. But a careful study of church history still leaves us in the dark as to which of the three Lutheran church orders is best.

### **Why has this problem become important for African churches?**

In recent years there has been a strong trend toward episcopal Lutheranism in Africa and one maybe less strong in Asia. Besides the Lutheran bishop of Tranquebar in South India, there has also been for several years a bishop in the Church of Sweden Mission in South Africa. In 1955 a bishop was consecrated for the Lutheran church in Pakistan. After a rather spontaneous discussion on the episcopal church order at the All-Africa Lutheran Conference at Marangu, Tanganyika, in 1955, several African



servants of Christ requested more information on Lutheran episcopacy, asking, "What really is a Lutheran bishop?" The answer to this question also gives insight into what we have been discussing above—a proper church order.

### **Where do we look for an answer?**

As we have seen, social and political patterns are not the direct solution to our problems. We must be cautious also about looking exclusively to church history and the examples we find there. Above all else, the one thing we must do to get as much clarity as possible is to turn to the Holy Scriptures and see what we can find there to answer our questions.

### **The Bible gives no clearly defined answer.**

We must state very emphatically that no matter how much we study the Bible there is in it no one recommendation for a complete church organization, ready for us to use. Some people seem to be puzzled by this and ask why God didn't give us clear advice in his Word on such a difficult question; then this hesitation and argument would have been avoided. No man can answer this question; it remains a mystery of God. But perhaps there is a definite wisdom in the fact that God has *not* prepared a complete church organization for us. Salvation is not dependent upon this question. Maybe God did not want us to "worship" church organization and all that goes with it. Maybe the lack of directives for church organization means that we shall more fully realize that the church is a tool in the hands of God and not in any way a goal in itself. To get the clearest possible picture of what the Bible says of church order, we must begin with and trace briefly the development of the apostolic witness.

### **According to the Scriptures to whom was the Apostolic witness passed on?**

The Word of God is the message about Jesus Christ, his ministry on earth, his atoning death on the cross and his resurrection. The apostles were the first ones to bear witness to this message. They were chosen by the Lord himself to testify. It might be well to mention here how Jesus instituted this ministry. Above all else his disciples were to proclaim the Kingdom of

God, and to them he entrusted the power of the keys of the Kingdom. To the command that they should "feed the lambs" he added the promise of the gift of the Holy Spirit. (Matthew 16:16-19, 28; John 20:21-23; 21:15-19.) Later, by inspiration and guidance of the Holy Spirit, the verbal apostolic witness was gathered to form the canon of the New Testament scriptures. Very early in the history of the Christian church there were discussions as to whether the apostolic witness was handed on for further proclamation to the congregations or to certain individuals. There are churches which teach that the authority was given to the congregations and other churches which teach just as emphatically that it was handed to office-bearers. Lutheran theology has been somewhere between these two positions. This is quite understandable, because both points of view seem to be expressed in the New Testament. It becomes very difficult to choose one over the other. Moreover, the two points of view are so inter-related in the Scriptures that it is impossible to separate one view from the other.

### **To the congregations**

Even when the apostles were still alive this apostolic witness was no longer strictly identified with their persons but had already become the tradition of the young Christian congregations. I Cor. 15:3-11 shows that Paul regarded the apostolic tradition which had come to him as a tradition of the young church, which he in turn is passing on to the church in Corinth. The same is the case in I Cor. 11:23-25. As the Word is passed on to the congregation, so St. Paul in his letters makes the congregations responsible for seeing that it is taught, preached and lived according to the apostolic tradition. For instance, in I Cor. 11 Paul admonishes that the Lord's Supper should be celebrated according to the apostolic tradition. This whole letter, one must remember, was addressed to the congregation, the church in Corinth.

### **And to the office-bearers**

At the same time, however, we see that St. Paul also makes specific *leaders* responsible for the proclamation of the Word. In his farewell speech in Miletus (Acts 20:17-38) he makes the elders responsible

for the continuation of his work in the congregation in Ephesus and refers to them as bishops. As he here entrusts his work in a single congregation to the elders or bishops of that congregation, so in his pastoral letters he entrusts his responsibilities as a *leading shepherd* over whole church areas to Timothy and Titus. In other words Paul's letters show clearly that he regarded himself as a leading shepherd for the congregations in a wide geographical area, and as *one* of the leading shepherds for the entire young Christian church. He laid exactly the same responsibilities upon his co-workers. It is quite important to note the manner in which he transferred his authority as the leading shepherd over a single congregation, as well as how he transferred his authority over a whole area of the church. He does not single out any one person or group of persons (for instance the presbyters of Ephesus, Timothy or Titus) to be his direct successor or successors. (Only in the more personal second letter to Timothy, 1:6, does he mention that at Timothy's ordination he himself laid on hands. In I Timothy 4:14 he speaks only of the laying on of hands of the elders.)

#### **An indissoluble union of congregation and office-bearer**

We are led then to the following conclusion: There is no independent line of office-bearers separate from the congregations and church. There is on the contrary an indissoluble union between the office-bearer and the congregation, the church; a constant and organic, mutual relationship.

#### **The nature of the church makes both congregation and office-bearer responsible**

It is fair to say that what is said in the New Testament concerning the order of the church sometimes seems to make that order democratic and sometimes oligarchic, but in reality it is neither one nor the other. All individual members of the congregation are made responsible and are heard; but a few seem to be made responsible and determinative. In answering the question as to whether this unique form of order is simply characteristic of the Hebrew people or whether it originated in the Old or New Testament congregations, the latter alternative seems to be clearly the case. The

statements concerning the responsibility for the apostolic witness come out of a consideration of the nature of the church; that is why they cannot be separated.

The New Testament congregation consists of mature, active members. The Gospel of John stresses this point very strongly. According to John 6:45, the eschatological prophecy, "You will be taught of God", is fulfilled in the congregation. According to Paul all the Christians were members of the Body of Christ and every member had a "service" (which is the way Luther translates "office") to fulfill for the building up of the Body (I Cor. 12). Paul himself submits his interpretations of the Christian life to the independent judgment of the congregation, namely, the church. As he speaks out of faith and by the Spirit so must the congregation pronounce judgment upon the teaching out of its faith and by the Spirit (I Cor. 7:25, 14:34 ff. and others).

At the same time, however, it must be stressed that the congregation does not consist of individuals who are all alike; it is rather a body having different members. Each member has, according to his gifts, a different task. There is a gradation of ministries corresponding to the nature of the tasks. The office of apostle stands in the first place in this gradation. (I Cor. 12:28; Eph. 4:11). None of the offices is simply and haphazardly delegated by the congregation to the individual. Rather each office is filled according to gifts of grace and tasks laid upon individuals by the Lord himself. The congregation can only acknowledge what the Lord has performed.

#### **Is there a special office of preaching different from that of every member?**

Our next question is this: Was there introduced into the church after the death of the apostles a particular office of preaching, to which was committed the special authority to proclaim the Word, as distinct from the task laid upon every member of the local congregation (church)? This question is not directly answered in the New Testament either. But if we consider the content of the New Testament in its entirety, it seems right to answer this question positively. Since the church has the duty to proclaim the Word, a *special ministry of preaching* is immediately established because church and apostolate



are equally related to the historical revelation of God. The witness about Jesus Christ has come to us through the apostolic tradition as given in the New Testament, and church leaders through the ages have tried to interpret this witness correctly by setting down creeds. History has shown that just as the New Testament congregation needed an office for preaching the Gospel so the continuing church needs a special office-bearer to be faithful to the apostolic witness about Jesus Christ.

**How is this special office of preaching related to the responsibility for witness?**

The unity between the responsibility of the congregation for the Word and the responsibility of this special office-bearer lies in this, that in the church neither the majority nor the individual decides but the Lord alone through his Spirit. His teaching is perceived only in the listening to each other, in submission to the testimony of the Scriptures (Acts 15:12, 28). What the bearer of the preaching office says, upon the basis of his theological knowledge of the tradition, has authority only insofar as the Spirit in the congregation testifies that it is God's truth. In all these matters in the church the question is not about *rights* but always of *obedience* to the Lord. Here is the real purpose of church order: to make possible this listening and obedience to the Word (I Cor. 14).

**The order in the first Christian church**

It should also be noted that in the New Testament the word *ecclesia* can mean the local congregation or the whole Christian church. This means that it is often impossible for us to separate the local congregation from the church as a whole and give each congregation an independence in relation to the church body that is not in the New Testament. On the other hand the church is not something that can act without remembering that it consists of local congregations. From the references in the New Testament we can see a picture of how the work was done. The first seven deacons were elected to take care of practical matters. The elders, who were not necessarily the oldest in age, seem to have been appointed in the beginning by the apostles after indication from the local Christians as to who had spiritual authori-

ty and special gifts of grace from God. In the early church not only the apostles but also the prophets and teachers were held in high esteem and were certainly among the elders in each place. Many seem to think that the presbyters, elders and bishops were different names for the same office. Others declare that the word "presbyter" (as used in the New Testament) includes more than the word "bishop" and that all the different gifts of grace were represented among the elders. Further, the New Testament speaks of a cooperation among the congregations. Representatives from the elders in Jerusalem went up to Antioch. We know about the great meeting in Jerusalem (Acts 15) where the apostles and elders and part of the mother congregation met together. It is significant that when they had reached an agreement it started with these words, "For it seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us, to..." This meeting has been called the first synod, and it is possible to do so if one does not compare it with a typical synod meeting in a church today.

**The office of leading shepherd developed into the office of bishop**

This is about as much as we can set down concerning the church organization in the early Christian church. In the New Testament no clear definition has been given to the names of different office-bearers. The Word of God as received from the apostles and as exercised through the different gifts of grace was the one uniting power that held together each local congregation and the church as a whole. It is understandable that as the church passed into the second, third and fourth generations more stable offices were established. The task of being a *leading shepherd* for the Christian church, administering the Word, little by little became centered in the office of the bishop. But it is not historically correct to say that the apostles were the first bishops and had clearly defined dioceses. Some theologians are of the opinion that the direct succession of ordination dating from the first apostles was broken comparatively early when priests were ordained as bishops by fellow priests. We have no indisputable historical proof of an unbroken episcopal succession with ordination through laying on of hands from the first apostles and onwards from bishop to bishop up to today.



### **The Lutheran Reformation and the special office of the ministry**

It is not our purpose to outline here how the episcopal office developed within the Roman Catholic church and centered in the office of the Pope in Rome. For our purpose it is more important to see what Luther and the Reformation said and did. Luther stresses very strongly the priesthood of all believers. He says that every condemned sinner, through rebirth in Holy Baptism, is born again to become a priest. Every Christian is through the Word, baptism and faith a priest of God. There is no member of the Body of Christ who is not a priest. No man, not even a bishop, can make a Christian more than he is already through this rebirth, namely, a priest. At the same time, the Lutheran Reformation stresses very strongly that the clergy of the church are the successors of the apostles if the clergy are faithful to the faith of the apostles. *Christ* has maintained this ministry through all the ages, and the basis for this ministry is exclusively the apostolic Word. The Word is the constant support of the church. *If the ministry deviates from the Word*, it is not the ministry of the Christian church, no matter what kind of ordination it has received. It is worth mentioning also in this connection that the Augsburg Confession names only two marks of the true church—the Word and the Sacraments. Christ is *the* minister and *he* is the continuation through the ages. For this reason Lutheran theologians refused to follow Melancthon when he wanted to elevate the ministry to make it become the third mark of the true church.

### **The public office of the ministry**

Luther stressed also that while every Christian was reborn to become a priest, a call was necessary for him to administer publicly this office. He must have shown to the church that God has granted him the necessary gifts of grace—insight into the Word of God, etc.—whereby he enjoys respect and authority. Luther says that no one of his own will should stand up in the congregation as its public minister without having been rightly called. Certainly if there is no more than one with this gift, it is possible, he said, but when there are more than one in a congregation, then

there must be an orderly selection whereby each gift of grace can work according to the will of God so that order prevails. According to the teachings of the apostles, every public ministry must be orderly and in accordance with the will of the true church. Consequently the Lutheran churches have as a rule established a ministry dependent upon an official call from the church. In several countries it required some centuries before the right of each Christian to witness to his faith was freely granted. But today the Lutheran churches agree that normally there is a rightly elected clergy to administer the Word and the Sacraments besides the God-given call for each individual Christian to administer the Word in his own way.

### **Lutheran episcopacy after the Reformation**

While the Roman Catholic church maintained that there could be no sacraments, no forgiveness of sins, not even a church, without the definite and continued office of the bishop, Luther did not hesitate to install superintendents who really held the correct attitude toward the apostolic Word. The fact that he got no support from the Roman Catholic episcopate for this action did not disturb Luther; he was convinced that the Roman Catholic episcopate had deviated from the apostolic Word. Luther maintained that the Roman bishops were no longer true Christian bishops since they had deviated from the faith of the apostles. If they had followed the faith of the apostles, Luther would not have hesitated to cooperate with them. Luther points out that division may be allowed to come about in the church only "if it is necessary"; that is, if there exists a deviation from the faith of the apostles. In other words, Luther did not believe the so-called episcopal succession was effective in safeguarding the pure teaching of the Word.

### **The office of bishop in Finland and Sweden**

The episcopate that Luther and his followers introduced was after all *not* a new episcopate, although it represented in most places a complete breach with the Roman episcopate. However, in Sweden and Finland, Roman bishops broke away and joined the Lutheran Reformation, and thus



there is a connection with the ancient episcopate up to this very day in the Lutheran churches in these two countries. Rome, of course, does not acknowledge this connection; it claims that after these bishops broke with Rome they were schismatic and their consecrations were not valid. The claim of apostolic succession has not been used by the Lutheran churches in Sweden and Finland as a theological argument for the true church. They are satisfied in the knowledge that an episcopal continuation exists among them, but at the same time they realize that it is *not* the office of the bishop which makes the church there a Christian church, but it is the Word of God. This interpretation of the bishop's office is not in contradiction to the main principles in Luther's Reformation.

#### **Other changes after the Reformation**

After the Reformation, the title of bishop was not used for a long time in some countries. Another translation of the same Greek word was used, the word "superintendent". Various customs have developed in different countries where the Lutheran church has been established. While in Germany a bishop is simply inducted into office, a bishop in the northern countries is consecrated, an act for which, however, no theological argument is advanced. They do not argue that a minister needs consecration to continue as a bishop the same ministry; consecration is merely a matter of expediency and inherited tradition.

#### **American church presidents**

In the Lutheran churches of America a somewhat different development can be traced. The presidents of some Lutheran churches in that country seem to have about the same duties as a Lutheran bishop in Europe. They not only proclaim the Gospel, but are given authority to inspect the spiritual life of the congregations and to be the "pastor of the pastors" in addition to their administrative duties. The major difference between the president of one of these churches and a European Lutheran bishop is that the former is elected for a number of years and the latter for life. In other American churches the president has been given only the right to preach the Word and to attend to the administrative functions of his office and has no special

right to spiritual supervision of clergy and congregations.

#### **What is a Lutheran bishop?**

A Lutheran bishop has then become a man with spiritual authority to proclaim the Word, to supervise the preaching and teaching of the Word, to be the pastor of the pastors and to inspect the spiritual life of the congregations. Out of practical expediency he has become the supervisor, but in reality his ministry is also the same as that of his clergy and, in fact, that of every Christian. It is a widespread practice in episcopal Lutheran churches that the bishop ordains the new pastors. But an ordination performed by another than a bishop would still be valid and unquestioned. This is the case in many instances and churches.

#### **The true essence of episcopal duties and the spirit in which they are performed**

It can be said that since the Lutheran Reformation the true essence of episcopal duties in the Lutheran church has centered in this spiritual supervision over clergy and congregations. On this point there is consensus of opinion between Catholics, Anglicans and Lutherans, although the emphasis and understanding of what this supervision really consists of differ. It does not mean that a bishop should rule as a dictator for life. Elders and pastors in committees and synods cannot be neglected by him. A bishop will always have to remember that he is a part of the Christian church where the Word of God through the Holy Spirit will always exercise a judging influence over a bishop and his work. Consequently, he is able to be over-ruled by the clergy or the congregations. Whenever he may deviate from the Word of God, the church will find other servants faithful to the Gospel. A Lutheran bishop must always remember that the preservation of the ministry or the church is not through his office or through the office of the ordinary pastor—the ministry and the church are preserved through God's continual intervention in the life of his church. We must also reckon with the fact that God can interfere in the life of his church and send special gifts and prophets when necessary.

#### **What should be our chief concern?**

It is important, however, that the life of the church goes on and that the one ministry

in the church as exercised by bishops, pastors, prophets and elders, is performed with as much continuity as possible. The church in its different offices and meetings (synods or whatever each church has decided in its law) has to see to it that it has all the necessary ministries, including the ministry of a leading pastor, whether that leading pastor be called bishop, president, superintendent or something else.

### **Is the title of bishop valid for the Lutheran church today?**

As we have seen, the word "bishop" has a special tradition throughout the centuries of church history. If this title can be used without destroying spiritual values in the church, without meeting too much opposition from the environment, the Lutheran Reformation has nothing against using this old title for those who, by the church, through spiritual authority and other gifts, have been elected to serve as leading pastors for life. The office of bishop, in fact, has a long and rich history in the Lutheran church.

### **What about the office of leading pastor for African churches?**

It is possible that many would say that the office of bishop should be allowed to develop naturally in the African church just as it developed naturally in the early church. There should be no planned goals or stages of development. Just as in the early Christian church the need for a leading pastor grew out of the whole spiritual situation, so each young church in Africa will need a similar office. Against the background of African respect and honor for the father of the family and the chief of the tribe, the church there should be quite well prepared to accept the introduction of such an office. It is of course up to each church to choose the name by which the office is to be known.

### **A definite danger exists in choosing a man for life**

If the tradition of the Christian church of having a bishop is to be adopted, then it should be remembered that he ought to be a bishop for a lifetime. Do the younger churches, however, have men so well-trained theologically, so well-schooled in all pastoral work and with so much authority among their people, that they can be chosen

by the church for a lifetime? Some are of the opinion that it is wise for a young church to wait and not too quickly elect a man who may prove after a few years that he is not a true bishop in the sense we have described a bishop. In any case each church should have provisions in its rules that make it possible to remove a bishop if he deviates from the teaching of the apostles either in faith or life, or if he proves to be otherwise unsuitable, and there should be an age limit when retirement is demanded.

### **A definite qualification!**

A bishop will further have to accept limitation of his power and not try to rule the church as an almighty king (chief). He will have to work and serve side by side with other ministers, committees, and synods who would all have the right to exercise their duties and powers.

### **When can a church have a bishop?**

It would not be enough to put into use the word "bishop" just because it seems to mean honor. When a church chooses a bishop it must be because there is a spiritual level of development in the church corresponding to that of the office of bishop. There must have grown a person to such spiritual maturity and with such insight in the Word and spiritual integrity and authority that he will become a proper leading pastor. He must also be an able administrator. History shows that often the first bishop was chosen from among the missionaries, with nationals as assistant bishops, very often for administrative reasons. Furthermore it seems wise that the church should make its decisions both on the basic question of whether or not to have a bishop and on the choice of person for the office by proper constitutional procedures.

### **The office of a bishop could be a definite advantage**

History also seems to prove that the office of bishop as understood in the Lutheran church means stability and order in the work, and progress if the man is truly a spiritual person, willing to be guided by the Word of God through the Holy Scriptures and through the medium of other men. A synodical-episcopal church order



could be more able than other church orders to withstand false teachings and customs which are not worthy to be used by the Christian church.

### Superintendent, president or bishop?

It is not possible to say that this or that word is more biblical than the other one. The word "superintendent" is also a faithful translation of the Greek word *episcopus*. We must admit that the custom of electing a church president for a number of years is a comparatively new thing and has probably grown out of the influence of Western democracy. Practically, it has the advantage of helping the church to rid itself within a reasonably short time of a man who proves himself unworthy of this high office.

We see then that there are great risks involved in introducing episcopacy in a church but at the same time great possibilities if God has been given opportunity to mature the right man for the office. *Tribal connections, family ties, social honor or wealth must not have a decisive part in the choice.* Nor must it necessarily be the man whom the majority of a people want in such an office who should assume it. The church must be so organized that the right procedure can be followed whereby the most worthy man spiritually is elevated to a bishop's very responsible position. At any rate, if a Lutheran church decides to introduce episcopacy, it would seem the duty of this church to state as clearly as possible for all its members just what this means. This should be done in order to avoid the heresies of some episcopal systems and to help each member see the difference between Roman and Anglican episcopacy and Lutheran episcopacy.

### Resumé

What we have stated here can be summed up in the following:

#### What a Lutheran bishop is

1. He is, together with all other believers, a priest before God, and, together with all other ministers, a minister in the church.
2. He is the leading pastor whether he has been consecrated or not, if he is rightly called by the church.

3. He is a true bishop as long as he does not deviate from the faith of the apostles whether he has episcopal continuity with pre-Reformation churches or not.
4. He believes in succession from the apostolic church through the Word and the Sacraments.
5. In supervising clergy and congregations he respects the authority that is given to other members of the church in committees, councils and synods; in other words, he realizes that the Body of Christ has many members.
6. He is appointed by his church authorities together with clergy and congregations above all because of his spiritual and administrative gifts.
7. He is usually chosen for lifetime providing his teaching and life permit it. And he is a servant of the church, responsible to all rules and constitutions.

#### The responsibilities of a Lutheran bishop

1. To proclaim the Gospel as received from the Apostles and administer Holy Baptism and Communion together with every other minister.
2. To supervise the preaching and teaching and help all the other gifts of grace to develop correctly in the church.
3. To ordain, according to normal church order, the new ministers.
4. To act as the pastor of the pastors.
5. To visit and inspect the congregations.
6. To administer the church together with church council, synod and all those who have been given a right to or a share in this administration.
7. To represent the church to the rest of the world when necessary.

#### What a Lutheran bishop is not

1. He is not a necessary mark of the true church in addition to the Word and the Sacraments.
2. His office is not dependent upon being linked in a personal episcopal succession as taught by the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches.
3. He has not, through consecration, received a special spiritual character which places him above all other men.
4. He is not an almighty chief elected by the majority of a people or a tribe.

5. He is not alone responsible for the life of the church.
6. He has no special duties concerning confirmation. And although he regularly ordains all new ministers, the church can commit this duty to another, if necessary.
7. He is not above the church law and can be removed from office if his teaching or his life becomes contrary to the Word of God.

*Fridtjov Birkeli*

## *World Service*

### **The Relationship of the LWF to the Eastern European Lutheran Churches, 1945-1957**

The Eastern European Lutheran churches have gone through various changes since 1945; first, as a result of the war and second, as a result of the political development in Eastern Europe. These changes must be considered when the question of the relationships between the Eastern European Lutheran churches and their sister churches in other countries is to be discussed.

#### **Changes as a result of the war, 1940-1945**

Early in 1940, a young theological student named Edgar Popp was writing for his "bishop's examination" a thesis, which had been assigned to him by his bishop (and father), on the reorganization of the Lutheran churches of Bosnia after the first world war. He did it with great enthusiasm, since he had always admired the pastor who had traveled on foot or on horseback all over Bosnia to gather the remnants of Lutheran congregations which were left behind after the devastation and the confusion of the war. This pastor reorganized the congregations, assisted in rebuilding churches and parsonages and established a diocese which was connected with the German bishopric in Zagreb.

The remarkable thing was, however, that only four years later this young man was faced with a similar but still greater task, not only in Bosnia, but also in Croatia and Herzegovina. After the second world war

he was the only pastor left in a diocese which before the war had comprised 80 congregations with 92 pastors. His father, Bishop Philip Popp of Zagreb, was condemned to death by the partisans for alleged cooperation with the German occupation forces. Most members of the former German congregations had had to leave their homes together with their pastors, and the Hungarian and Slovenian congregations of the diocese had established themselves as autonomous churches.

It now became the task of this 26-year-old man to keep the various remnants together. He gradually succeeded in obtaining permission to use the church and the bishop's house in Zagreb again. As in other cities, these properties had been confiscated after the war and had been used for other purposes. He changed the language of the service from German to Croatian, since it was no longer permitted there or in other Eastern European countries to use the German language in church.

By now the use of German is permitted again, but the use of the language of the country has been retained, a fact which is of great importance.

At the same time, Edgar Popp traveled extensively and visited many distant places where there had earlier been German congregations, from the Adriatic in the West to Belgrade in the East, (a distance of between 700 and 800 kilometers), from the Hungarian border in the North to as far as Sarajewo in the South. In every place the task was the same, namely, to gather the scattered remnants and reorganize them into new congregations, to try to get the church buildings returned and, with help from other countries, restore and repair them for use again. This work is still not completed. The work of Pastor (now Senior) Popp has resulted in the Lutheran Church in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, a church with 11,000 members in many small communities. The church has only two fully trained pastors, but they are assisted by lay preachers and deacons.

This is a simple but significant example of what has happened in quite different ways in many Eastern European churches in areas where extensive emigration, especially of Germans, has taken place. It is estimated that a total of 1,270,000 German Lutherans lost their homes and disappeared in some way or other from these areas.



In Poland prior to the war there were more than 500,000 Lutherans, 50 % of whom were Germans. In 1956 there were 40,000 Germans and 220,000 Poles, but emigration of Germans is still going on. The Poles are strongly stressing the fact that their church is not German but Polish; there is always the fear that "Deutschtum" and "Luthertum" be identified.

In 1929 there were 400,000 Lutherans in Rumania, in a Hungarian and a German church; today there are 180,000 Germans and 30,000 Hungarians beside some Slovak congregations and a Rumanian congregation in Bucarest.

There had also been many German Lutherans living in Hungary, who lost their homes. There, as in Poland, the enormous devastation of church buildings is the most heavy material burden on the life of the church.

However much the Eastern European churches have been changed by migration, one cannot say that this is something new and unique in the history of these churches. There have been changes and migration before, as well as much heavier reductions of the number of church members. Immediately after the Reformation more than 60 % of the population of old Austria-Hungaria were Lutherans. But as a result, partly of the Turkish invasion, partly of the disastrous and cruel Counter-Reformation, when, a hundred fifty years ago, Protestants were at last officially and fully acknowledged, no more than 7 % of the population were Lutherans. As far as Austria and Slovenia are concerned the Reformation survived only in distant mountain valleys and often in congregations which had no church buildings or pastors. In these congregations, however, the Bible, the catechism and the hymnbook were faithfully used.

These churches have a stormy history. They have survived one crisis after the other, and they have become proud, feeling like "pioneers of the Lutheran faith". At the same time this is the background of their feeling isolated and powerless, always in great need of spiritual and material help from the larger Lutheran churches abroad.

### Changes as a Result of Political Events

When we think about our sister Lutheran churches in Eastern Europe in these past years it is not only the confusion of the

post-war period which demanded and demands our attention. We think much more of the changes resulting from the political events which took place as communism and Christianity confronted one another, and as the church had to adopt a position and come to a new consideration of itself in this situation.

The situation of the church in Eastern Europe is quite clear to the extent that two incompatible ideologies, namely Marxist-materialism and Christianity, confront each other, and that each realizes their incompatibility.

But practice has shown, on the communist as well as the Christian side, that it is extremely difficult to establish clear lines.

Communist policy in regard to the church has changed from period to period and from country to country. The situation of the church in Eastern Europe was especially difficult in the so-called "Stalinist" period from about 1948 until the year after Stalin's death. That the relationships in the various countries are different can be shown, for example, from the fact that the state actually gives financial assistance to the church in certain countries (Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and to a certain extent in Rumania; in Hungary, however, this state aid will be continually reduced in the course of twenty years at intervals of five years). In other countries, the church receives no financial assistance from the state (Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Russia).

Also the church's attitude toward the communist state is quite varied. There have been tendencies varying from uncompromising church opposition to complete co-operation of the church leaders with the state and the wishes of the state.

In the course of these years, the path which the Lutheran churches should take has become more and more clear. They are not reactionary nor do they identify themselves with the wishes of the state. In general one can say that in these past years three main currents have been developed and become noticeable in most of the Eastern European churches, currents which have influenced the life of the Eastern European churches in various ways. These currents are particularly characteristic for Hungary, and for this reason the main tendencies within the evangelical church in Hungary will be set forth in the following paragraphs as an example.



### *The social-revolutionary movement*

Even before the war and particularly during the war, there was within the churches themselves a social tendency which sharply criticized the seemingly conventional and conservative life of the church. There was actually much to find fault with in the church's life. The church had even supported fascist tendencies in the prewar government. Also there was within the church a certain anti-Semitism. All this was rightly criticized. After the war there developed in Eastern Europe the well-known theological and ecclesiastical tendency which was represented in the Reformed church by the Czechoslovak Professor Hromádka and the Hungarian Pastor Bereczky, and in the Lutheran church by Pastor Dezsery. In the historical events of the war and post-war period they recognized a judgment of God, and there was a call made for repentance for the sins which the church had earlier committed. It was only through the grace of God that one could still preach the Word of God. The church should concentrate on this alone in the future. It should become economically free of the state, but at the same time energetically support the socialist undertakings of the state.

Much truth lay in this interpretation, but also much untruth. One can rightly object to this interpretation because collective repentance, which was called for, is actually no true repentance at all. There is no reason at all for doing penance for the sins of others, especially if one will not admit one's own guilt. Collective admission of guilt was particularly in fashion toward the end of the 'forties; it happened that the things to be admitted were prescribed for the church by the state. Such open admissions of guilt would then be rewarded by the state through some favor, and gradually this movement which originally intended to free itself of the state became more and more dependent on the state.

In the year 1950 this movement triumphed within the Lutheran church of Hungary with the forced removal of Bishop Lajos Ordass and the election of Bishop Dezsery. In the period from 1950 to 1952 the Lutheran church experienced a rather thorough reorganization which resulted in the bishops' gaining an extraordinary position of power within the church, and

this at a time which was very critical for the church. The failure of the church leadership, however, became more and more apparent in the course of the summer of 1956. Through the unanimous protest of the Hungarian pastors attending conferences in September and October — that is, even *before* the events in October — this failure was clearly confirmed, and both bishops had to resign. It is to be noted that the pastors opposing the church leadership did so not from a reactionary political motive, but acted only after thorough consideration and in the interest of the church. The Hungarian church has had a difficult period of discipline, and today is completely aware of her social responsibility.

### *The pietistic revival movement*

A totally different movement within the Hungarian Lutheran church had asserted itself at the same time, namely the attempt to renew the inner life of the church. The main representative of this movement is Zoltán Turóczy, who was elected bishop in 1939. He is the great revivalist of the Lutheran church. As a young pastor studying in Finland, he was influenced by Finnish pietism, and in the 'thirties, he directed a successful revival campaign, particularly among pastors, deaconesses and other church workers. During the war the Hungarian Lutheran church experienced a magnificent and unique revival. The revival work was concentrated on the renewal of the church and did not protest against the German occupation troops, against fascism and anti-Semitism, for which the pietists were later reproached. Particularly in the later Reformed Bishop Bereczky the pietists of Hungary had a very severe critic who characterized the whole pietist Christian attitude as opium because it had no conscience for public life and little understanding of the general problems of life. Steadily the revival movement was limited in its work and in the 'fifties revival activity was almost impossible.

But also in these difficult years the revival had continued to have a very extraordinary significance for the inner life of the church. In prayer, in Bible study, in loyalty to Christianity, in the training of children in homes, this movement had challenged Christianity just in the difficult period, and is today, where it is able to work again, a living factor in the life of



the church. The pietists also have not gone through this difficult period without learning a great deal and the younger leaders of the movement have much more understanding for everyday social life and the meaning of the church and thus lean more toward cooperative work with other groups.

### *A third position*

The third position within the Hungarian Lutheran church can best be designated by the name of its most well-known representative, Bishop Lajos Ordass. Bishop Ordass and his followers have, as have those of the aforementioned tendencies, recognized the weaknesses of church life in the post-war period. They feel, however, that renewal in the church can only come about in the first place through confessional loyalty and consideration of the Lutheran tradition and, from this standpoint, attempt to influence the life of the church. Just as Turóczy was influenced by Finnish pietism, so Lajos Ordass' experience as a scholarship student in Sweden and his encounter with the understanding of the Lutheran church there, as well as general Scandinavian church culture, has given direction to his activity. When he became bishop of Budapest in 1945, it soon became apparent that the Lutheran church had found in him a fearless and steadfast leader who categorically rejected infiltration of church life from outside. In 1947 the difficulties with reference to religious instruction began, and in 1948 the censoring of radio services was ordered. Ordass answered that they would rather forgo such services than submit to censorship. He preferred to give his personal guarantee that the sermons would be devoid of political propaganda. In this attitude was shown the interpretation which he has always represented. He did not wish a church dabbling in politics nor did he wish to see the church influenced by politics. Again and again he was accused, not only by the state but also by the radical social tendency within the church, of pursuing political goals. This became particularly clear in 1948 when the state wished to nationalize the church schools. Ordass did not want to hand over voluntarily the church's schools to the state, even though he recognized that the state could at any time forcibly take them over.

Ordass hoped that the church would follow him in this position. He had, at any

rate, many courageous followers, not only among the pastors but also in the congregations. When he was charged in the fall of 1948 with infringement of currency regulations and was placed in prison, the rest of the church leadership then submitted. In December 1948, a concordat was signed with the state in which the state guaranteed the freedom of religious services, the distribution of Bibles and religious literature, religious instruction in the schools and welfare work. During the Stalinist period, however, there was little freedom.

Since the rehabilitation of Bishop Ordass and his return to office in the fall of 1956, he has definitely shown that he was not a reactionary and had not pursued political goals in his protests. In regard to this there appears to be no uncertainty today even on the part of the state. He is today the personality within the Hungarian Lutheran church who is striving for cooperation among the three aforementioned tendencies and is indicating the way in which the church may find its place among the people, in preaching the Gospel and in bearing responsibility for the people without mixing in politics. At the same time it must be recognized that the freedom of the church to work today is much greater than in the years just past, as Bishop Ordass recently confirmed on his journey outside of Hungary.

The three tendencies described here appear clearer in Hungary than anywhere else in Eastern Europe. The tendencies are everywhere the same, and also the task of finding the right attitude toward the non-Christian and anti-Christian milieu is the same. This task presents itself not only to the church leaders, but to every individual Christian. All are in the battle and are exposed to great temptation either to fall into resignation or, on the other hand, to become politically active. This battle of the conscience regarding the correct attitude of the congregation can be eased or be made more difficult by the leadership of the church.

These kinds of structural changes which have become apparent within the Eastern European churches resulting either from the events of the war or political events have influenced to a great degree the total life of the church. Those who knew the Eastern European churches before and have



visited them again can scarcely recognize them. These churches have lost much; for example, all their outer wealth, which perhaps is not injurious to church life. They suffer, however, under their isolation, they suffer under their difficult economic position and they definitely need the support of their Western brethren. On the other hand, these churches have become rich in Christian sincerity, Christian maturity and readiness to sacrifice. The congregations are under the cross, but, as always, God has hidden a blessing behind the cross. For that reason the relationship with these churches is not only important because of the poverty which is theirs, but also because of the spiritual richness which they have to give to their sister churches in the West.

#### **The Relationship and the Connection to the Ecumenical Movement and the LWF**

In 1948 the connections with the ecumenical movement and the Western world became extremely difficult if not completely broken off after they had been held intact for a time only with difficulty. In July 1948, the congress of the various Orthodox churches in Moscow described the World Council of Churches as a political, anti-democratic, and non-theological body. The pronouncement of the congress was in general a directive for the relationship between the ecumenical movement and the Eastern European churches. (The situation of the Lutheran church within the Soviet Union and in the German Democratic Republic is not taken into account in this statement).

In Hungary Bishop Ordass was sentenced to jail in 1948 because of contributions which had been collected in the West for the Hungarian church (exchange infringement); in Rumania a Lutheran pastor was arrested and sentenced to prison because he had maintained connections with the ecumenical movement, and on February 10, 1949 more than fifteen Protestant pastors in Bulgaria were given sentences as "Western agents". From Poland all connections with the ecumenical movement were broken in October 1948. Similar situations occurred in Czechoslovakia. There the Lutheran World Federation had a representative who had to leave the country in November 1948.

However, not all connections with the ecumenical movement were broken off.

The previously mentioned Czechoslovak Professor Hromadka and later also the Hungarian Protestants took active part in the work of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches. Professor Hromadka saw his mission to be to prevent too strong a connection of the Central Committee to the West and his work was highly valued in the ecumenical movement because those in responsible positions realized that the church is not a Western power, for which reason they also met the delegates from the Eastern countries with frankness and willingness to listen. These Eastern European brethren belong just as much to the great Christian family as those in the West.

In general one can say that the Eastern European churches have performed a great service in preparation for the various international church conferences.

The interest in the ecumenical movement is shown in the fact that the Protestant churches of Hungary extended an invitation to the Central Committee of the World Council for its meeting in the summer of 1956. At this time, however — after Stalin's death — the whole atmosphere in Eastern Europe was already completely different. Many of the imprisoned and sentenced pastors were released (for example in Rumania and Bulgaria) and the general contact with the Western churches appeared more active than before. At the meeting of the Central Committee in Hungary in the summer of 1956 the rehabilitation of Bishop Ordass was pressed and this was then carried out in the months which followed.

In the years between 1948 and the spring of 1956, the Lutheran World Federation had very little contact with its member churches in Eastern Europe. Occasionally theological books, medicines, and individual gift packages were sent to Eastern Europe. Contact with the churches in the German Democratic Republic was able to be maintained through West Germany. Direct connections through all these years existed with Yugoslavia, where the war-ruined churches in many ways could be supported in their reconstruction effort.

In April 1956 a Conference for European Lutheran Minority Churches was held at Semmering, Austria, at which the majority of the Eastern European Lutheran churches



were represented by delegates. This conference was the impulse for closer cooperation with the Eastern European churches. It indicated that the time had come to take up again the old connections with the Eastern European sister churches. A delegation of Lutheran church leaders was invited to Czechoslovakia and Poland. A representative of the Lutheran World Federation was sent to the Central Committee meeting in Hungary, and Rumania and Bulgaria were also visited (Bulgaria, however, has no organized Lutheran church, but the Lutheran group has, for the most part, joined the Methodist church). In general the Minority Church Conference and the visits of the various church delegations created a desire for the renewal of personal contact with the churches and pastors in the Eastern European countries.

As a result the LWF Commission on World Service during its meeting in August 1956 granted in all \$ 40,000 for aid to Eastern Europe. This money was to be used mainly for the sending of individual food, clothing and medicinal packages and for the mailing of theological books. Various Eastern European churches have received the benefits of this aid program during 1956 and 1957. Further it has been shown that it is now time that some of the churches be supported with money, primarily as assistance to pastors with inadequate salaries and for the reconstruction of church buildings. And it appears also as though it might soon be possible for the churches in some of the countries to participate in the exchange program for theological students and church workers.

More important than financial aid for all these Eastern European churches is the fact our brothers and sisters feel that they are not forgotten by us and that we pray for them, just as they also have included and still include us in their prayers.

*Mogens V. Zeuthen*

### **The LWF and the Question of a Permanent Resettlement Program: A Symposium**

The Lutheran World Federation, through its Department of World Service, has been,

since the second world war, engaged in the resettlement of persons on an emergency basis. Since this program has for the most part been completed, the question has arisen as to whether and to what extent the Lutheran churches of the world, and in particular the LWF, have a permanent obligation in regard to the continuing migration of people. The Department, after preliminary consultations at its meeting on resettlement in March 1957, solicited opinions on this question from responsible leaders in countries of emigration and of immigration with the hope of reaching a consensus as to the responsibilities and opportunities of the LWF in this regard. We include some of these opinions here in order to facilitate arriving at such a consensus.

The Rev. Clifton L. Monk is Executive Secretary of Canadian Lutheran World Relief and has his office in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. Dr. Cordelia Cox is Director of the Lutheran Refugee Service of the National Lutheran Council and the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod in the United States. Her office is in New York City. The Rev. Bruno Muetzelfeldt is Australian Executive Officer of the LWF Department of World Service and is President of the New South Wales District of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia. Oberkirchenrat i. R. Dr. Ferdinand Schröder is Director of the Protestant Office for Aid to Emigrants in the Central Office of Hilfswerk of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKID), Stuttgart.

### **Canada in Relation to the LWF as an International Agency in the Field of Resettlement**

Canada has played a major role in making the Lutheran World Federation a leading agency in the field of resettlement. Perhaps it is in order to review what has been accomplished by Canadian Lutheran World Relief in cooperation with the Lutheran World Federation. CLWR is the official operating arm of the National Committee for Canada of the Lutheran World Federation, and of the three Canadian Districts of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod in the fields of immigration and relief.

In the movement of displaced persons under the mandate of the International Refugee Organization (IRO) we did not play any significant role. We did, however,

assist in the movement of some of the "hard core" cases in the latter days of IRO. While it was apparent that the Canadian government was doing everything possible to assist in the movement of displaced persons to this country it became obvious that there were no facilities to process and move ethnic German refugees to Canada. To meet this need the Canadian Christian Council for Resettlement of Refugees was organized in 1947, and in December of that year the first group of 50 arrived in Canada. It is stated that the first ethnic German refugee to leave Germany for any country went to Canada under the auspices of the C. C. C. R. R. In this latter organization CLWR has since its beginning played the major role.

It was in August 1948 that the first 18 refugees were moved to Canada by Canadian Lutheran World Relief. By October 31st, 1956, 18,299 persons had been assisted to Canada, and for these people a total sum of \$ 2,859,686.04 was advanced in transportation loans. At the same date loans were outstanding at \$ 598,197.90. This information is given to support the view that Canadian Lutheran World Relief has made the LWF a leading agency in the field of resettlement. It is reported that the Lutheran World Federation resettled more refugees in a three year period from 1952 to 1954 than any other voluntary agency co-operating with the 26-member-nation Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration. Of the total of 15,418 refugees and other migrants moved from Europe under LWF auspices from 1952 to August 1955 more than 12,000 came to Canada under the auspices of, or with the co-operation of CLWR.

Canada has been, and increasingly will be, a major receiving country, especially for migrants from North European countries. It is interesting to note that several of these countries have a large Lutheran population.

The present role of voluntary agencies in Canada is chiefly to assist in family reunion cases and other needy cases of an emergency nature. At the present time there is no longer the same need to find jobs and accommodation in order to facilitate the movement of persons from Europe to Canada. Our Canadian government is now engaged in immigration on such an extensive scale that it is now possible for

most migrants to come to this country under government schemes and with government financial assistance under the Assisted Passage loan scheme. The one category of persons not eligible for government assistance is older persons who are coming to join their relatives in Canada, chiefly sons and daughters. But even if our field of service has become somewhat limited by the extension of government assistance there is still a service which Canadian Lutheran World Relief in cooperation with the Lutheran World Federation can provide for the newcomers in our church in Canada, particularly those recent arrivals who wish to have a speedy reunion with their parents and older relatives still residing in Europe.

In outlining the policy of Canadian Lutheran World Relief the Rev. C. L. Monk, Executive Secretary, said a few years ago, "It should not be assumed that we are engaged in a wholesale transfer of migrants from one country to another. It is not the business of the church to transfer surplus population, nor manpower from jobs in one country for the economic development of the receiving country. Neither are we interested primarily in transporting good Lutherans from Europe to Canada in order to strengthen numerically our Canadian church. Rather our approach is the individual one. We are interested in 'the one' who needs our help."

This emphasis is best described by quoting from the memorandum submitted jointly by the four recognized church agencies in Canada to the Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration during the month of November 1954. "The undersigned voluntary agencies assert that, side by side with the general immigrations policy of Canada, there is a phase of immigration with which these agencies have been specifically concerned for many years and which they feel it is imperative to continue. This humanitarian and welfare aspect of refugee and migrant services cannot be continued if present procedures are radically changed, as proposed in discussions with the Deputy Minister and his officers. The motivation of the voluntary agencies in rendering these services lies especially in the special consideration given cases of hardship and worthiness, and in recommending such cases to the Canadian Government Missions overseas. While members of these



agencies in their individual capacities may and do have an interest in the larger framework of the movement of surplus population and the economic needs in Canada, actually their concern as representatives of voluntary agencies is devoted to this more intimate and personalized service to particular cases."

It has been traditional for the church in both the sending and receiving countries to play a role in immigration. This role enables the church through its delegates to act as a conscience for government. A government immigration program can become completely secularized. Mass government immigration does not always lend itself to the humanitarian approach. Government officials have neither the time nor the training to give personal understanding and the vital human touch to people, who, because of past experience, do not always have confidence in such officials. This is not to say that our country has devised an immigration program which is devoid of humanitarian considerations. But the channels of immigration have many obstacles and there is a need for an advocate for the people who find difficulties in carrying out their human right to emigrate. This role cannot be taken lightly in view of the fact that human destinies are at stake.

We should face the fact that the day of mass movements under the auspices of and underwritten by voluntary agencies is past. But there will continue the need to give personalized and individual services. In this connection it is our opinion that such services can only be given by persons in sending countries who can deal objectively with the problems of immigrants. These same persons must be able to understand the problems of receiving countries.

In this day when political climates are very uncertain and when there is a possibility of a crisis in any given area of the world, there is the need for a known contact, a key to unlock the door to action.

An international agency can also be a means to pool information on movements of population. There is the need for contact with workers in sending countries who can be depended upon to provide reliable and accurate information as to trends and movements of emigrants. These workers in turn would need contact with personnel in receiving countries to secure proper information for counseling of prospective mi-

grants. This would involve encouragement regarding integration into the life of the church in the receiving country. It would also mean a better service of technical assistance—advising migrants how to gain admission to the receiving country or cataloging sources where such technical information can be secured. This service would not necessarily involve sponsorship. It may be that provision for a technical assistance program in both sending and receiving countries is the only means to gain a total picture; only by having the total information will the churches be able to provide a better service in a spiritual and counseling program to migrants. This would of course include assistance to migrants after they have arrived in the country of resettlement.

It is Canada's hope that the machinery which proved so valuable in the past should not be scrapped. It is our recommendation that some type of skeleton organization of an international scope be maintained;—one flexible enough to meet needs as they decrease or increase.

*Clifton L. Monk*

### **An American View**

Since 1948 LWF-WS and the Lutheran Refugee Service (LRS) working together have brought to the United States approximately 55,000 refugees. Before 1957 is over, the number may be almost 60,000. In these US programs, the emphasis has been on the need of homeless people for opportunity to rebuild their lives. The program was initiated because large numbers of Lutheran people were homeless and were looking to the United States for new homes and new opportunities. While we have brought to this country 4,000 or more non-Lutheran people, because of the sectarian nature of the work of the voluntary agencies, the great majority of those whom we have assisted have been Lutheran. The fact that the refugees whom we sought to assist were Lutheran made our task comparatively easy as compared with the task undertaken by Church World Service in assisting refugees not directly related to the religious faiths of sponsoring congregations.

The Lutheran churches in America have always been concerned that the incoming refugees have the opportunity and privilege of becoming affiliated with Lutheran



churches. The intent has been to help people in need rather than to import membership for American churches. This emphasis on the responsibility of the church to help people and to make available the strength of the church for the refugees has challenged the spirit of service of Lutheran congregations all over the country.

The interpretation of LRS work has been so definitely that of helping people in need that we have run into difficulty when an occasional person whom we have assisted has after arrival in the United States shown that he was reasonably prosperous in the country of asylum. The definition of need has been interpreted primarily as economic need, and in general this interpretation still holds. Interestingly enough the opposite of this concept is also true in the LRS resettlement program. For reasons which can be understood, the church has been dubious about bringing to this country people who were likely to remain economically dependent. While we have brought some mother-children groups, some older people, some handicapped people and some others whose economic adjustment in the United States was questionable, in the main the people whom we have helped have been those "not likely to become public charges". In other words, we have rejected those who are "well to do" and have not felt ourselves in a position to help the truly unfortunate who are likely to be permanently dependent.

Even though in the matter of selection emphasis has been placed on economic need, as I look back over our work with refugees, it seems to me that LWF-WS and LRS have always been conscious of the spiritual, emotional and social needs of the refugees whom we have sought to serve. Sometimes this has found expression only as a vague consciousness rather than as an implemented program. We have seen people as individuals, but we have not always had the staff, resources or skill to treat them as individuals; so at times, I am sure, we have rejected for immigration people who with skilled selection, orientation, counseling and resettlement service might have been successfully and constructively resettled in this country. Also, at times, particularly at the height of the programs, we have done something of a "mail order business" in which there has not been sufficient understanding of the refugees nor have the refugees had sufficient understanding of

the opportunities, responsibilities and limitations surrounding the resettlement offers which were available to them.

As we look towards a future program in immigration and resettlement, it seems to me that one thing must precede all the others; formulation of definitions of purpose and function. If LWF-WS and its national counterparts, such as LRS, are to have a long-range immigration program, what will be its purpose and in what areas of activity will it function? It would be fine if all of us could begin now to seek these definitions. Can we say the purpose of our program would be to serve migrant Lutherans and other migrants needing us wherever they are found? If so, we must then define the kinds of people who may need our help and the kinds of service we should provide.

Working on the premise that our purpose in an immigration program would be that of service, I should like to discuss several categories of migrants and the possible services which might be made available.

1. There will be continuing need for the immigration of refugees. This may be a minor part of the program, or it could become a major emphasis overnight. The needs among refugees are spiritual, emotional, social, legal, vocational and economic. A program designed to help them would need to include provisions for service in all these areas. It should be based on principles and practices shared by the LWF and the national counterparts and should be staffed with people having vision, understanding and skill in human relations as well as in immigration matters. In this category of refugees might come a group of people who wish to be re-settled to whom so far LRS has offered little service. If we once started, I believe a considerable volume of business would develop quickly. For instance, there are many refugees in South America, particularly professional people, who would prefer the United States if they could be helped to come here. Many of them might not qualify on a "need basis" in that they might be people who are in some measure established in their own professions under conditions not much worse than those under which the native professionals are working. On the other hand, their opportunities as compared with those in the United States are limited and



they long for the opportunity in this country.

Also among this group would be people seeking family or friend reunion. There may be a brother, or mother, or a less close relative in Australia, or Sweden, or Great Britain who wishes to join a relative here. Sometimes there are friends whose relationship is close enough so that they wish to reestablish their lives near each other. Helping such people immigrate is a difficult, time-consuming task which can involve considerable financial outlay. Often again the people concerned are neither destitute nor helpless in the countries of their resettlement, but they do wish something different.

The present philosophy of helping refugees who have no homes would have to be modified if LRS were to attempt much re-settling. While some of those asking such service would be those whose first resettlement was a failure, many would have made a reasonable adjustment.

I believe that LWF-WS and its counterpart national agencies should always be ready to move into situations where helpless people need protection, resettlement and re-settlement. To accomplish this it seems to me that we need a careful definition of principles of resettlement and that we need competent skeleton staffs all over the world, experienced in immigration and in counseling with people.

May I also suggest that a program for refugees, in order to be truly effective, would need one or more highly skilled staff members to serve as observers in areas of potential stress. As I look over our present operations, I believe that it is in this area that LWF-WS and LRS have been least adequate. Both organizations have risen to the occasion when the plight of homeless people has come to our attention, but we have not been so staffed that we foresee and foreplan such operations. The recent Hungarian crisis illustrates my point. When the crisis came and the people were at our doorstep in Austria and moving to our doorstep in the United States, we rose in a rather valiant way to the occasion. In contrast, even before the United States opened its doors to the Hungarian refugees, the Jewish agency in particular knew what was likely to happen, had studied the possible courses of action, and was ready when the time came. Not only did

HIAS have trained observers who were examining and planning for the situation on the Austrian border, but they also had trained observers in Washington who were making available much more adequate information for their overseas operation than LRS made available to LWF-WS. In other words, it seems to me we often fail in the long-range planning aspects of our task. We did not know what was coming until it came, we had no plans for moving people before movement began, and we had no staff available for observation and coordination except as this was a part of the administrative task which was already heavy both in Europe and in America.

2. There is now and will continue to be a considerable volume of immigration of Lutheran people moving under their own impetus from one country to another. The church might well define an area of responsibility and privilege in service to these people. Such a program might follow all Lutheran immigrants as they move from one country to another in ways that will insure the immigrants have the opportunity to relate themselves to the church in whatever country they settle and in ways which will conserve for the Lutheran church its membership as these members distribute themselves over the earth. Such a function, even standing alone, is a worthy objective for the church. It is one which would require widespread international planning and international procedures and routines which would make referrals possible. Once established, except for some continuous interpretation, this service could become on the national and international level a routine part of national and international procedure. In other words, the success of such an effort would rest with (a) the national and international routines which were developed, and (b) on the zeal of local Lutheran pastors in following through on referrals. Such a program would have nothing to do with need as such, except as any person needs his church and the church needs its members.

Looking into the future I could wish that LWF-WS and its national counterparts could begin to define a long-range worldwide program for immigrants; that in doing so it would realistically and practically explore who among Lutherans are immigrating, how these people can be reached before immigration and after immigration,



how many of them need and wish the good offices of the church as they transplant themselves, and how responsive local pastors might be to a regular flow of information about incoming immigrants.

3. Among the non-refugee immigrants to countries like the United States there will always be some who need special assistance and who by virtue of their legal status as aliens must seek special sources of assistance related to their status in the country. An ongoing international program might well attempt to meet some of these needs. However, it would be difficult to find the people in need and to define the areas in which an immigration service rather than other welfare services should give assistance. While refugees have little difficulty in appealing to LRS because they know us and have our address, the great majority of immigrants would have no reason to be conscious of our existence and might not know when and how to turn to us in case of need. The success of such a service would be dependent upon the knowledge of local Lutheran pastors of the work of LRS, and even then, unless a troubled immigrant were actively church-related, he might never know that his church had an organization which could be helpful to him.

If such a service were established, great care would need to be taken that it did not become a sort of "errand boy" operation. It would be easy enough, for instance, for LRS to get itself into a position where it gave all kinds of reception services at piers and airports for people who might not truly need them, but just felt more comfortable because someone was meeting them. We have something of this problem now with numerous calls upon our pier staff to meet and assist mothers with children, old people and non-English speaking visitors and immigrants who are arriving in New York, or who are coming to New York to go abroad for visits.

4. I have named three areas to be considered in defining purpose and function. I believe that I should suggest another for eventual consideration. There is no doubt that there now exists a considerable volume of traffic in the immigration of unaccompanied young children who are being moved for the purpose of adoption. Questions as to where the children come from, their capacities and endowment, the wisdom of

their leaving their relatives and country, the rightness of their being released to practically unknown Americans or other foreign parents often are not given realistic consideration before the children are transplanted. Also, after arrival in America the children may have no protection beyond that of the new unknown parents. An international adoption program to be rightly done should be based on a total child welfare program in the country of emigration. The church should not go around a country looking for adoptable children, but rather seek to serve children in their own countries. If in doing so children are found for whom emigration seems to be the best solution for their problems, then emigration should be considered. To help the individual child rather than to fulfill the wishes, wise or unwise, of would-be adoptive parents should be the purpose of an international adoption program.

Because very questionable traffic in children does exist and because this traffic may be on a large scale, I have often thought it might be well for Lutheran churches to enter into a carefully planned and well staffed adoption program with two purposes in mind:

(a) to help the children who come to our attention who need foreign adoption, and

(b) from the vantage point of a practicing agency to show up present abuses and speak for the thousands of helpless children who are now being transplanted without adequate investigation or supervision.

In any program of this kind the emphasis should be placed clearly on the need of the child rather than on the wish of parents for adoptive children. It would be impossible to meet the demands of American parents for adoptive children because the need is so extensive and the reasons for adoption are so varied. Many of the motivations are wholesome and good, and many are neurotic. I think we would make a grave mistake if we entered upon a program for adoption where the center of attention was on adults wishing to adopt children rather than on the need of children.

Implicit in all the foregoing discussion is the thought that a world-wide Lutheran program would not only be operated within the policies and practices of the participating member churches but also would work closely and cooperatively with national and international immigration agencies



of government and with national and international voluntary agencies interested in migration. The success of the program would be in part dependent upon the skill with which it was related to the church and to other immigration programs. Participation in committee work, conferences, and programs along these lines would be both a responsibility and an opportunity. Indeed, it seems to me that the Lutheran agency could learn a great deal and contribute a great deal in such inter-church and inter-agency activities.

To sum up this long discussion may I make the following *recommendations*:

- A. If a Lutheran immigration program, refugee or otherwise, is to continue, it should be placed on a regular sustaining, planful basis with the element of emergency operation kept to a minimum.
- B. LWF and its national counterparts should agree on the purposes, principles and functions of such a program.
- C. They should also agree on the respective responsibilities and roles of the national and international Lutheran agencies.
- D. They should define in practical ways the principles and policies of operation and the actual procedures acceptable among them for exchange of information and for cooperative action.

Perhaps all of this should be begun in a small way, but always with the long-range plan in view. The plan should be one to which the church leaders nationally and internationally subscribed in interest and in willingness to support the venture financially and otherwise.

May I say in closing that I believe the LWS staff meeting in Vienna was exceedingly helpful. It was the first time representatives of the receiving countries had the opportunity as a group to sit down with representatives of the countries of emigration to plan on an over-all basis. I could wish that after exploration by correspondence such as this there might be another conference to develop a tentative program to be submitted to the member churches and that such conferences will become a part of the program of a world-wide Lutheran immigration and resettlement service.

*Cordelia Cox*

### **The Desirability of a Permanent LWF-WS Migration Service**

One of the results of the Vienna meetings early in March 1957 has been, I believe, an increased awareness that the LWF has to re-think its resettlement policy in the light of the changing situation. I, therefore, welcome and appreciate the opportunity of recording some observations as to the course the LWF may follow in a long-range resettlement program. In doing so, it appears expedient to consider the current situation, in distinction from the immediate past, followed by the basic question as to what may be required to meet the situation, and how best these requirements may be met.

The resettlement program of the LWF developed very naturally out of the emergency situation which arose as a result of World War II. There was an obvious need calling for Christian charity and service, a need which was evident on every score, and had great emotional appeal.

On account of the economic recovery of Central Europe the need for a Christian resettlement service is no longer as apparent, nor has it the same emotional appeal. Apart from some emergency situations, such as the Hungarian crisis, the number of *refugees* eligible for resettlement is strictly limited. Equally limited is the number of those citizens of Western Europe who at present have no chance to eke out an existence in Western Europe. The vast majority of persons now migrating do so, not because they hope that emigration will give them and particularly their children, better opportunities and greater economic and political security.

Whatever the rights or wrongs of such calculations may be, and whatever the church's attitude may be to the migration of people for these or similar motives, the fact remains that whether or not we like it, people will emigrate, and that their migration brings in its wake all kinds of social and human problems, such as e.g. re-uniting of family units.

While, then, it is true that the currently stable economic and political situation in Western Europe has resulted in the vast majority of emigrants not being refugees, it is equally true that the political situation in Eastern Europe is far from stable. The Hungarian experience has shown us that a real emergency situation can arise quickly,



calling for immediate and efficient action.

In the light of these two factors, viz., firstly, the steady emigration flow from Western European countries without pressing economical and political pressure; and, secondly, the possibility of refugee migration in case of an Eastern European crisis, we may ask: What are the requirements which an international agency such as LWF-WS should meet to fulfill its functions adequately? On the basis of our past experience, there is no doubt that LWF-WS is willing to be and should be involved in emergency situations. After all, that is the very origin of its resettlement service. But again, our past experience, as that of other agencies, has proved indisputably that an efficient organization, and efficient it must be to be of any real help, cannot be built up overnight, nor can a disbanded machinery be called back to life at a moment's notice. The whole problem of organizational set-up, trained personnel, administrative machinery, public relations, and liaison with local and intergovernmental and voluntary agencies is most relevant in this connection. It is evident, then, that even to fulfill its traditional function as a resettlement agency in an emergency, LWF-WS will have to remain in the field with at least a skeleton organization.

However, such considerations do not lead us to the basic question which, I believe, we should face at this particular juncture in our development. The fact that the refugee problem is at most going to be a spasmodic one, and that, generally speaking, resettlement today involves nationals of Western European countries who, from our point of view (and I emphasize from *our* point of view and obviously not from theirs as otherwise they would not migrate) do not have to migrate, calls on us to review our whole approach to the question of a resettlement service.

In the past, resettlement as far as voluntary agencies are concerned has, naturally enough, been considered as one aspect of our over-all material aid program. One way in which material aid can be given to some of the thousands of refugees has been by giving them the opportunity to build up a new life in a new country. Now that, partly due to the success of our and other voluntary agencies' endeavors, and partly due to the economic recovery in Western Europe, this problem has been solved, it may, of course,

be argued that the task is completed, and that this aspect of LWF-WS can be abandoned. But is the answer as simple as that? Is it true that the task is completed because circumstances have changed? Personally, I believe that changed circumstances do not necessarily entitle us to say that there is no further scope for real service, but rather confront us with the challenge to adjust our service to these new circumstances. The basic obligation to serve remains; only the nature of the service alters with altered circumstances.

In making this adjustment, it is essential that we remind ourselves of the basic consideration which has been the principle of our resettlement operations, viz., that we as a church organization are interested in the *individual*. We have always stood for helping those who could not receive help under politically influenced governmental and intergovernmental immigration schemes. When I.R.O. helped only certain classes with free passages, we considered a revolving fund for those not eligible under that system; when I.R.O. closed down, leaving many DP's without intergovernmental help, we made our facilities available to them also. When European countries had surplus populations, we exerted influence on the receiving countries to take people; when the receiving countries were choosy in their selection because the potential migration pool was almost unlimited, we made special representations to those governments to accept persons less desirable from a national economic point of view. It was always the individual, caught up in the inevitable injustices of political, national and economic considerations, who was singled out for our special care.

This principle must surely be maintained also in a changing situation. The changed situation is simply this, that now it is no longer the receiving country which penalizes the would-be immigrant, but often the country of emigration, because for political and economic reasons those countries do not want to lose certain categories of their population. If it was right in the days when migration was a buyer's market to make representations to the country of immigration in order that the individual might not be penalized as a result of national and economic considerations of those countries, it must surely be equally right now,



since migration has become a seller's market, to see to it that the individual is not penalized as a result of the national and economic considerations of the emigration country. Once we depart from this basic principle that the interest of the individual is our primary concern, we lay ourselves open to the charge that our help was not so much given to help people, but to relieve population pressures in certain countries; in other words, we as an organization have entered the political arena to come to the rescue of certain countries in their over-population problems. If that be the argument, then it could, of course, be argued with equal validity that LWF-WS should now go to the aid, e. g. of an under-populated Australia; or to take the political argumentation further, by saying that an under-populated Australia constitutes as much a Communist danger as an over-populated Europe. However, these are not and should not be LWF's considerations. Our clear task is that, no matter how the situation may have changed, the interest of the individual person who needs help because he is caught up and penalized by national or international considerations, is preserved and Christian service is extended to him.

Equally important in our consideration as to the requirements we ought to meet in this changed situation is the necessity for the church not only to take cognizance of, but to face up to the social phenomena to which its people are exposed. This has been the task the church has sought to fulfill in many regards; that is why it gives special attention to the needs of its young people, to students and to the men and women of the church in brotherhoods and women's organizations, or to the socially and physically handicapped through inner mission work. Obviously, immigration is one of the social phenomena of our age. Here we have a group of people, who, perhaps like no other, need the technical assistance, the expert counseling and the pastoral care only a church organization can give. Are we to "pass by on the other side" as did the priest and the Levite, because to face up and to help may be inexpedient, may cost us some money, or upset some other priest and Levite, or are we going to be like the Good Samaritan who "took care of him"?

The answer must, surely, be obvious. The action of the man who traveled from Jeru-

salem to Jericho may have been foolish, but that did not concern the Samaritan; he saw a man in need of help and he gave it. So we may think that the decision of some people to migrate is foolish: if we cannot dissuade them and they need our care and help, can we refuse?

Such refusal would not only be against the law of Christian love, it would also be most foolish because it would constitute a neglect of a missionary opportunity. That participation in a resettlement program represents a missionary opportunity is a lesson which the Lutheran churches have discovered during the past years more or less by accident. It was never the motivating incentive for the commencement of a resettlement service, but we learned that it was a by-product with a remarkable potential. God has shown us a new way to preach the Gospel to every creature, not only by going into the world, but by following people throughout the world, making a bridge for them from one church to another. People who are uprooted, who are taken out of the complacency of their normal environment, not only need the stabilizing sense of the Christian faith more than many another, but they are also in a more open frame of mind to receive the Gospel because their own experience has taught them the transitional nature of material things. Here is a missionary opportunity which the church must grasp if it is to fulfill its mission.

From the foregoing it is apparent that a long-range program must make provision for the rendering of the following services:

1. Readiness for emergency situations.
2. Counseling services for intending emigrants.
3. Technical assistance to individuals who are penalized on account of governmental or intergovernmental considerations, including revolving fund aid, placement service etc.
4. Family reunion services.
5. Utilization of the missionary opportunity migration presents, including effective notification system between churches regarding the movement of people, and financial assistance to those churches which cannot cope with the influx of newcomers.

In implementing such a program every possible advantage should be taken of the



fact that the vast majority of Lutheran churches throughout the world are bound in the cooperative organization of the Lutheran World Federation. While, of course, the autonomy of each member church must be fully preserved and the churches primarily concerned must assume their proper share of responsibility in manpower and money proportionate to their involvement in such a program and proportionate to their respective sizes, full advantage of a federalional organization is taken only when all churches of the Federation become partners in such a worldwide plan. This appears to be necessary, particularly when the churches either in the sending (e. g. Austria) or the receiving (e. g. Australia) countries are numerically weak, as obviously the combined efforts of two such churches are insufficient to carry the full burden of an effective program. Similar situations may arise when a church of one country involved is neutral in its attitude towards an on-going migration program, while the church of the other country involved is vitally concerned, but does not have the resources to cope with the situation.

Sharing of responsibility must also be considered from the point of view of efficient and experienced personnel, in as much as not always the churches directly concerned have the trained personnel to administer a program. A typical example of this is the appointment of an evangelism and stewardship man of the American Lutheran church (ALC) for service in the Australian church. Only by a federative enterprise can the best results be achieved, as in this way individual churches are not dependent on the resources and abilities of their own circles but can benefit from the expert knowledge and experience of any of the member churches of the LWF.

To be really effective, a resettlement program must also take into account the general practice customary in governmental and intergovernmental migration procedure. We accepted as self-understood that the USA, Canada, Australia, etc., do not select their immigrants through agencies of the country of emigration, but by persons who are acquainted with the conditions, circumstances, etc., of the country of resettlement. For proper counseling this should, I believe, apply equally to Christian migration counseling services, as our

counseling should go deeper than secular migration selection and should also embrace church conditions in the country of resettlement.

Experience has shown even on the technical side that international staff is more acceptable to migration missions than national staff drawn from the country of emigration. To be really effective in our help to the people who need it the most, the good will of migration missions is absolutely essential.

The fact that in the secular sphere resettlement continues to be considered an intergovernmental (I. C. E. M.) enterprise, makes it incumbent on those who really want to render efficient service to work on the same basis. The futility of one or two national churches in liaison with intergovernmental organizations when all other interested groups are represented by internationally organized bodies is apparent. Surely it is the task of the LWF to guard the human rights of people, particularly in migration matters, where individuals can become so easily the pawns on the international chessboard. Especially must we guard the interest of Lutherans. Unless the Federation itself runs an effective service, its voice will be of no avail. This influence can only be proportionate to the actual work it does, and not to the work done by one or two churches which happen to be affiliated with the Federation. That would be like a man getting up at a church synod demanding that certain things be done; his right to make such demands being not that he is a member of the church, but that some relative of his is.

Ineffective as individual churches would be in regard to this matter of international liaison, they would suffer under the same limitation in respect to the administration and maintenance of a revolving fund which has proved itself indispensable in rendering help to those who need it most. In the light of the fact that the need for voluntary agency participation is shifting from country to country (sometimes the USA, sometimes Canada, sometimes Australia are most involved as receiving countries; sometimes Germany, sometimes Austria, sometimes the Scandinavian states are primarily involved as sending countries) depending on migration legislation in the countries concerned, an attempt to have a bilateral revolving fund arrangement is



doomed to fail, quite apart from the fact that a revolving fund administered on such a basis cannot benefit financially from intergovernmental bodies such as I.C.E.M., etc.

Bearing this aspect in mind, it seems that a bilateral arrangement between churches is not sufficient for an effective migration service, just as the continued existence of I.C.E.M. shows that a bilateral arrangement between countries is not adequate.

In conclusion there are two points I wish to make: First, it is for us to decide as to whether we can assume the responsibility of allowing our fellow Lutherans to be the only ones who are left without the protection and assistance of an efficient resettlement agency. It is evident that none of the other secular or religious voluntary agencies are terminating their services. Are our people to be made dependent on purely secular, Roman Catholic or Jewish agencies, or on the World Council of Churches which, over the period of years, has shown little ability to combine technical services with pastoral care and the utilization of missionary opportunities?

And the second point is this: The cooperative endeavor of our resettlement operations has borne worthwhile fruits. It has drawn together Lutheran churches throughout the world in a most tangible manner. The sharing of the joys, the disappointments, the sacrifices of this work has in no small manner contributed to make the Federation what it is today. Above all, however, this cooperative enterprise has proved itself to be an outstanding means in the hands of the Lord of the church to lead men and women not only from one country to another, or from one church to another, but to lead them closer to him. It is for us to ensure that this experience is not only continued but extended by adjusting our resettlement services to the needs of the day and by making them ever more a missionary endeavor.

Bruno Muetzelfeldt

### A Long Range Program for Germany and Western Europe

As we have very often discussed these problems between us I can make my comments brief. I am speaking for the responsibility which the Protestant church in Germany, that is to say the *Evangelisches*

*Hilfswerk*, must feel for the migrants generally just because it is a church. This is the basis from which we have to consider the situation probably facing us in the coming years in Germany. From this basis we have to work out our program or plan.

#### 1. The Responsibility of the Church for the Migrants

There is no doubt that this responsibility is not limited territorially. For the church in Germany it ceases neither on the coast of the North Sea nor at the Alps, but covers all parts of the world. Although this idea is especially new for a country that still has territorially circumscribed churches, it has been taken up by nearly all of them and found its practical form in the establishment of Counseling Offices for Migrants. These facilities will certainly continue to exist on a permanent basis. They are supplemented by the social and pastoral services of the Emigrant Missions in the ports of Hamburg and Bremen. At this point the possibilities of the church in Germany end.

But the responsibility remains for the church as a whole; and consequently for the present immigration countries as well, which might become emigration countries one day, or in part already are. Their contribution to the social and spiritual integration of the immigrants is inseparably connected with the work of the sending churches. The connection between receiving and sending churches, however, can only be established by ecumenical organizations.

#### 2. The Necessary Organizational Set-Up

Since these obligations exist for the church as long as there is migration, and migration is a fact of world history, a certain amount of permanent organization is essential. This includes, as mentioned above, Emigrant Counseling Offices which should exist in all European churches. The central direction and the furnishing of these offices with information material must be guaranteed. But in addition to this, permanent skeleton organizations must be retained by ecumenical institutions, at least in the main emigration countries, in order to maintain the connection with the receiving countries. Such offices are also indispensable for programs which have to be carried out on an international scale.

Permanent receiving organizations therefore are necessary in the form in which they already exist in the USA, Canada and Australia. The skeleton organization mentioned above should consist of a well-trained staff that can be expanded without difficulty in case of special emergency.

### 3. *The Extent of the Caseload in Germany*

The normal emigration quota will probably amount to 60,000 persons in spite of, or because of, the "German Economic Miracle". Of these persons the following numbers will probably need a travel loan from the LWF:

to Canada	1,500 persons
to Australia and other countries	1,500 persons
to the USA	1,000 persons
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,000 persons</b>

It cannot be foreseen what immense tasks may result from these facts for the ecumenical organizations concerned with migration. In any case the Director of the Federal Office for Emigration, Mr. Kleberg, emphasized a few months ago that in his opinion it is essential that such ecumenical organizations be maintained for the assistance of migrants.

*Ferdinand Schröder*

## A Concept of Stewardship

### Reflections of an Inter-Church Aid Consultant in Europe

In each of the areas of Europe the church faces similar problems, though the setting differs each time. The problem is how to meet the people of today with the means of grace. Time-honored methods must be continued, as everyone admits, but new ways must also be found to win back many who have been lost to the church. In Germany the *Kirchentag* and the Evangelical Academies are notable innovations which provide a means of speaking to the people. Such speaking is no monologue. It is always intended to be discussion, a give-and-take on the basis of mutual respect. To a lesser degree in the *Kirchentag*, but to a larger extent in the Academies this purpose is

being achieved. Greater numbers of people are in touch with the church as a result. It is hoped that many will be won for the church.

Among other influences at work in Germany and in Europe in general, visitation evangelism is an earnest, though less spectacular, way of reaching the people in and out of the churches. It is a serious effort because it is a grass roots movement, working with and among people of the congregations with the purpose of showing God-pleasing interest and concern for them, in a word, to bring them unmistakable evidence of Christian love. The richest fruit of this effort is the re-interesting and re-winning of members of the church as active and dedicated Christians. From the biblical concept of stewardship, meaning responsible living as the fruit of Christian faith, the churches have been gaining new insights since the Lutheran World Federation Assembly in Hannover, 1952, giving cause for new hope and confidence. Visitation evangelism is an evidence of time and talent placed at the service of the church as a means of witnessing to the meaningfulness of the Christian life. I believe that this emphasis is biblically sound and theologically respectable. It needs but to be practiced in faith and in hope with men and women in the churches who are in some cases simply waiting to be enlisted.

I should like to sum up my understanding of stewardship and stewardship expansion through the Lutheran World Federation in seven points as follows:

1. Christian stewardship is a concept embracing all of life. It is the total person in response to the creative, redemptive and sanctifying act of God. Christian stewardship is faith bearing fruits, or, living faith demonstrated in all the walks of life, and at every moment.
2. This concept of Christian stewardship is growing in the world, not least in the member churches of the Lutheran World Federation. It is the result of earnest study of the biblical terms of steward, stewardship and service. In this study such figurative language as the vine and the branches, the Body of Christ and its members, and such much-used terms as Law and Gospel, sin and grace, faith and works, reward



and merit, are used to clarify and correct what is known about stewardship. Stewardship lights up what has been known all along about the Christian life, and it is highlighted by its connection with basic Christian truth.

3. Stewardship as a dimension of the total Christian life embraces such particular subjects as the use of time, of God-given abilities and talents, of money and property, of opportunity to serve God and man. If at some moment the stewardship of time is uppermost, it does not lessen the importance of the stewardship of talent. If the stewardship of money and property is emphasized, it is stressed at no expense whatsoever to other areas of life as stewardship. Various churches will consider various aspects of stewardship over others at one time or at another. The total result, carefully observed and systematically presented, can prove stimulating and helpful to the churches.
4. Visitation evangelism, though one can make a strong and sufficient case for it by itself, may readily be considered as one aspect of Christian stewardship. Here time and ability are used to serve Christ and his church in visitation and witness. Area evangelism on a wider scale than visitation evangelism in a single congregation similarly seeks to awaken people in and out of the churches to the Christian meaning of life. The ripe fruit of these efforts is the winning of people as active, dedicated, witnessing and giving members of the church by the power of God's Spirit at work among the people. Such experiences in one part of the world and another can strengthen the life of the churches if they are known and shared.

5. Churches are asking for guidance in stewardship and evangelism, and for practical insights on ways and means of aiding its growth in the congregations. These requests for help are indications of new stirrings within the churches. To let them go undirected would be to fail in a vital mission of the church.
6. The Lutheran World Federation can serve the churches by making experienced counsel and the proven gifts and abilities of men and women in the churches available for longer or for shorter periods of time in areas of the church where the need for stewardship and evangelism is felt and the request for a particular service is made.
7. Through all aspects of the Christian stewardship emphasis, the importance of the preaching of the Word, the importance of the teaching of laymen and laywomen on the basis of the Word, and the necessity of Christian life as the fruit of the Word are central. Nothing should be done which is man-centered, and nothing should be organized which is not God-pleasing. The Holy Spirit, not man in his own strength, must be at work. This fact needs vigorous presentation for the good of all the churches. The stewardship movement will gain momentum in the churches if it is permitted to grow naturally by God's Spirit, guided and encouraged by a Spirit-filled and Spirit-directed church. The Lutheran World Federation can become increasingly helpful as a channel for stewardship insights and the sharing of practical experiences with the churches.

*Theodore A. Hartig*

# FROM LANDS AND CHURCHES

## Sweden

### Luther in Swedish Pietism

Anyone who quotes Luther frequently must get used to being called an anti-pietist. Of course Luther is considered primarily as an enemy of any kind of free-churchmanship, but also of the whole tradition from Sven Rosen<sup>1</sup> right up to C. O. Rosenius<sup>2</sup>, including prophetic figures like Sellergren<sup>3</sup> and Schartau<sup>4</sup>. Being a Lutheran should thus mean that one rejects Swedish revivalist piety: one adheres neither to Schartau nor to Waldenström<sup>5</sup>, but only to Anders Nygren in Lund!

Of course as a Lutheran I am skeptical of any kind of clique-formation and sectarianism in spiritual things—"Rotterei" as Luther called it. But that makes me suspicious not only of attempts to cut off the devout from the world, but also of the tendency to distinguish Lutheranism from these "pious ones" as though they were some kind of secular *sect*. And when I reflect on where I learned this mistrust, I remember Sellergren—I think of his warning against "spiritual cliques".

Very much the same thing happens when I examine my suspicion of confidence in what is known as "the fruits of grace", that is, the improvement of one's way of life which is supposed to be the result of faith. This mistrust does not by any means imply that these fruits do not exist, but rather that they cannot serve as a support for faith. I have learned this from Schartau's warning against trusting in the "effects of grace".

<sup>1</sup> Sven Rosen, 1708–1750, leading personality in Swedish radical Pietism.

<sup>2</sup> C. O. Rosenius, 1816–1868, city missionary in Stockholm, one of the most significant lay-preachers of Sweden.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Lorentz Sellergren, 1768–1843, pastor in Hällberga, southern Sweden, well-known preacher and pastor in the Old Pietist church movement of the last century.

<sup>4</sup> Henrik Schartau, 1757–1825, provost in Lund, outstanding preacher and catechist; his ideas still influence church life in southwestern Sweden.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Petter Waldenström, 1838–1917, at the beginning one of the leading men in the revival movement which began with the preaching of C. O. Rosenius; later the leading personality of the large group which separated itself from Rosenius and established a free church.

An Old Pietist from Swåland once pressed Luther's Commentary on Galatians into my hand, and I believe that this is characteristic of many modern readers of Luther. A couple of years ago at a pastors' conference it was pointed out that Anders Nygren was once a pastor in the diocese of Gothenburg before he became professor at Lund. And the connection between Lutheranism and Pietism really is more than a coincidence. If a Schartauian reads such a statement he will get angry, *not* because someone is equating his beliefs with Luther's teachings, but because someone is thus daring to question the agreement of Gothenburg and Wittenberg in regard to faith.

It may be as well to recall a few facts. Radical Pietism in Sweden abandoned its hostility to the church in the 18th century through an influx of Lutheran thought by way of Herrnhut. At the beginning of the 19th century the revivalist preachers were concentrating not only on scourging the people with the law, but also on comforting them with a gospel which showed clear signs of having come via Luther. Schartau did not accept many edifying writers. Apart of course, from the Holy Scriptures, he really only accepts four—Arndt, Roos and perhaps Scriver, but Luther first and foremost. And though at the same time the great pietistic opposition arose in places with separatist tendencies, pious wrath is directed against the un-Lutheran tendencies of the church manual of 1811 and the hymnal of 1819. People were reluctant to have their children baptized and confirmed according to a ritual which set moral exhortations beside the Gospel of unmerited grace. In the new hymn book too, it was the un-Lutheran moralism which riled the Pietists. For instance Olaus Petri (1493–1552) had written:

ty tu äst bådhe godh och mil  
och wil oss alla skona  
om wij sätie wor tro ther på  
ath thet skal medh oss wara så  
som tu oss segher före

(For Thou art kind and Thou art mild and wilt spare us all. We set all our trust in Thine acceptance of us as Thy children, as



Thou hast promised us.) But in 1819 this verse looked quite different:

Gud all vår synd förlåta vill  
och oss för straffet skona,  
vi oss förlita däruppå,  
när vi med lydigt sinne gå  
den väg du föreskrivit.

(God will forgive us our sins and spare us from punishment if we strive on obedient to his word and keep the commandments.)

This moral reservation is typical of Neology. The reply of the Pietists consisted not only in edifying sermons—Schartau in a commentary from the year 1815 confesses a similar conception of the verse just quoted: "In the question of justification or spiritual purification, the works of the law and faith are not the two conditions or common causes, but faith in Jesus Christ is the only cause and condition."

It is interesting to see how well Pietism preserves this standpoint in its hymns. For natural reasons people do not like singing about the carefully delineated frontier between what is, and what is not permitted. The deadly seriousness of the struggle to make oneself better lends itself far better to song. But a channel is continually opening for the basic principle of the Reformation, for in these dynamic words can be heard the rushing of mighty waters for those who have ears to hear. No longer needing to probe into what one has done and feels and is means, as Luther put it, "To be removed from one's own view of oneself". If faith is correct, to be able to rely on the love of another rather than on one's own self-love is a release which is sung about in Heaven. With a genuine Lutheran ring it sounds forth surprisingly often through the timidity of the Pietists. And though 18th century Pietism over-stressed the teaching that one should "listen to one's heart", C. O. Rosenius (just like Schartau) knew better:

Vandra i trone, se honom icke,  
detta är regeln, det bliver därvid.

(Go forward in faith; not to look on it is the rule which endures.) "To see Him" (Christ) is according to Rosenius something which "delights the feelings for brief moments", but faith has more than feelings for its basis. And the same man has told us how it is with "righteousness" as the distinguishing mark of God's children in

the poetically atrocious but theologically significant hymn "Poverty of spirit". In the face of the danger of self-righteousness, he says:

Hellre syndbelastad,  
Under domen kastad,  
fallen och oren,  
Publikan och sköka  
kunna Jesus söka  
men ej farisén.

(Better to be sinful and unclean, a publican or a harlot under judgment. Only he who is laden with sin can find Jesus, not the Pharisees.) This verse was first published in a journal with the name *Pietists*.

Just 25 years later the Rosenian revivalist movement collapsed. Its heritage was shared between the low church movement and the free churches. But no one should think that Lutheranism was forgotten on the Waldström side. Rarely has Lutheranism in its very essence been expressed so clearly as by Nils Frykman in the hymn he is said to have written when the breach with the church was completed in a most painful and drastic way. It begins: "Nu är jag nöjd och gläder, nu kan jag andas ut" (Content am I and joyful and breathe again at last). It goes on:

Jag fordom gick och tänkte  
på bättring, bön och tro,  
men det ej hjärtat skänkte  
hugsvalelse och ro.  
Nu tänker jag på Jesus, hur ömt han  
älskar mig —  
av kärlek han offrade sig.

(Once in pain I thought of my improvement, yet this thought gives no comfort and relief to the heart. Now I think on Jesus, and how He loves me and gives His life for me.)

And if we go on a few decades, in the Salvation Army for instance, where words like "Experience of Sanctification", "Holiness in the Lord" and "Hallowed through and through" are most characteristic, we can find a verse like this:

Vi hava blott ett enda hopp,  
vi ha blott ett försvar,  
men det är nog  
att Jesus dog,  
och att för oss det var.

(We have but one hope, one strength and one trust, that Jesus died and won salvation for us.)

We can follow this flood of evangelical hymns right down to the Pentecostal movement—"The promises cannot deceive"—and that proves that the antithesis Lutheranism-Pietism does not express the whole of their relationship to each other. One can dare to state that Pietism has contributed more than any other movement to the preservation of the Lutheran message in Swedish popular devotion. That the extent of this preservation has at times been more like protective custody is another matter.

This fact deserves to be considered, in the face of the religious and church political divisions in Sweden. The Lutheran heritage is no peculiarity of a special group, even in its most daring utterances. In this turmoil of tendencies and pietistic organizations and struggles for power and spiritual need there is one main thought which even those tendencies which are unaware of it have in common. It would be a great relief in the great religious conflict to remember that we are really dealing with one main idea—a fantastic one which may not be taken for granted—that love exists. Many carefully cherished pettinesses would be forgotten if one could see the cross whose cross-beam, like arms outstretched, unites Schartau and Lewi Pethrus<sup>6</sup> and whose upright-beam extends from primitive Christianity right up to the present day, just as Olaus Petri's chorale sounds forth again in Einar Billing in one of the most daring verses in church history:

Min tro är en flämtande gnista  
din segrade än i det sista.  
O Herre, så tro du för mig.

(My faith is but a flickering light, yet Thine dost win: it leaves me not O Lord, so believe Thou then for me!)

Olov Hartman

## Hong Kong

### Hong Kong—Center of Misery

Hong Kong is a British Crown Colony divided into three sections—Kowloon, the so-called New Territories and Hong Kong

City itself. There are 391 square miles in all and they hold three million persons. Because of the rocky terrain and lack of employment possibilities in outlying districts, 75 per cent of these persons are crowded onto a narrow strip of land on the coast. Kowloon, where our office is, holds one million persons in its three and a half square miles. Some acres hold more than 2,000 persons. Hong Kong has the most crowded square miles in the world.

The flood of refugees retreating from the Communist advance in China into Hong Kong began coming in 1949 and brought with them the misery which continues today. In 1949, the Colony had 800,000 people and today we have three million with 1,360 new births every week.

### Housing Problem

Lack of housing is the greatest of many major problems in Hong Kong. When the refugees first came, they used any available space and material to build huts. There was no planning or controls. No water, light, gas, sanitary facilities or fire lanes were built into their "squatter villages", as we call them. They use stoves made of earth which must be fanned to burn for cooking. Sparks easily fly off, setting fires among the tinder-dry cardboard and plywood shacks. Since 1954, more than 90,000 persons lost homes from fires—19 in a three-month period in 1955.

In government-built tenement flats designed for eight or ten families, one finds 20 to 30 families living. They live on what is called "bedspaces". A landlord rents out bedspaces, not rooms, since only a small percentage of the population is able to afford flats. The rented bedspaces are really just one board on a narrow bed where one sleeps with two or three other persons, often complete strangers. Children sleep on the floor or under the beds.

In rooms the size of a normal Western living room, 50 to 60 persons may be living in bedspaces, three high. Three or four such crowded rooms full of people share one kitchen where each family sets up a tiny stove. When all of these stoves are burning during a day with a 95 degree temperature, the heat is suffocating. At the back of the small dark communal kitchen is a covered wooden box for a latrine, shared by all. Strangely enough, there is little or no

<sup>6</sup> Lewi Pethrus, the leader of the present-day Swedish Pentecostal movement.



moral decay among the Chinese people as a result of such living conditions. Few illegitimate children are born even though men and women often are forced to sleep together as strangers. Another amazing thing is how clean they try to be in spite of great difficulties, how orderly they are and above all, how cheerful. They will always invite you in for a cup of hot water when you visit them.

Even more destitute than the refugees living in tenements are over 100,000 "roof-top dwellers" and "street-sleepers" in Hong Kong. One time I visited a roof-top in a business district of the city. Below, in the building, were comparatively wealthy Chinese workers completely unaware of the fact that on their roof were 60 human beings living in primitive shacks. There is no water. In one hut I found eight persons living. An old woman was lying on the board bed, partially paralyzed and dying of cancer of the breast. She was making rice cakes which her husband illegally sells on the streets. She never washed—she was unable to move herself to go to the W.C. and was lying in unimaginable filth. We sent her to a hospital immediately where she died shortly afterwards.

The Government Social Welfare Officer of Hong Kong, in a local paper, stated that Hong Kong has 60,000 children who have to spend their lives on the streets without any form of family discipline and without any kind of education. I do not exaggerate. I sometimes doubt whether exaggeration could make the picture any worse than it really is.

There are, I don't know how many persons living on staircases. We go to visit a tenement building and going up the stairs, we see a blanket, a bowl and possibly a few meager belongings. At night the stair landing is the home for some poor refugee. Often they are drug addicts and find their only release from overwhelming misery in their use of opium and heroin.

### Water Problem

Water, or rather the lack of it, is the second largest problem in Hong Kong. When I am in Geneva I take two baths a day just to have this luxury again. Water for the whole colony comes from rain. In dry seasons, water is rationed and one is allowed to have water only three days a week for cooking and washing and other purposes. Thus, even if

the refugees try to keep clean, it is almost impossible without water, and many of their diseases come from plain dirt—they cannot wash their food enough, they cannot wash clothing or hands or faces, and the dirt diseases cannot be stopped without more water.

Sometimes there are crowded areas where hundreds of persons are dependent on one faucet for their water. Then people line up in the hot sun to wait for the water, which, in dry seasons, runs only three or four hours per day. Often I have seen old women standing with little children for six or seven hours in the sun to fill a bucket which must last their families for 24 hours. Then the next day they stand again for the same length of time. If they are at the end of the line and the water stops before they get there, they must buy water from hoarders who often sell it at high prices.

### Medical Problem

The medical problem is nearly as bad as the previous two I have mentioned. There are only a few public hospitals in Hong Kong and a few private clinics, some for charity patients. A population of three million, according to European standards, should have at least 28,000 beds under normal conditions. Hong Kong has 5,571.

The worst disease is tuberculosis which has reached epidemic forms. The government estimates that 95 per cent of the population above the age of 14 has at one time or other been infected by TB. Hong Kong has 971 beds for chronic TB patients and according to one estimate there are 5,000 dangerously advanced cases now in the streets. There are families where both the father and mother are spitting blood and yet they must daily sleep and live in a tiny room with their children.

We have 28 advanced cancer patients in our medical files and there is also no room for them in hospitals. One day a 27 year-old student came to me, his last resort, to see if we could help him do something about his advanced case of nose cancer. We referred him to one of our doctors who sent him back to me with a note saying that the boy had two months to live and he did not dare attempt an operation. I wrote to all the specialists in Hong Kong to find someone to perform the surgery. Finally, one agreed, but we had to send the boy to a private clinic, which costs us about \$1,050.

He had his operation and they expect him to be well again. However, we cannot do this for each of our cases because of the lack of funds.

We also have 300 urgent surgical cases in our files, including about 30 hernia cases but also no room for them in the hospitals. And as you know, if hernia is left to get worse, the pain and suffering is beyond description. Most of our patients are day laborers who work in mines or factories and must do a lot of lifting.

We have a case of a man with a bad infection in his sinuses but we cannot find a doctor who can help him before June, 1958. These are the conditions under which the people live.

### **Educational Problem**

About 224,000 of the children in Hong Kong are going to school. Some 175,000 between the ages of 5 and 14 cannot afford it. Only about 15 per cent of those able to finish primary school can pay the fees to go on to middle school. School is voluntary in Hong Kong and therefore fees must be paid for those who attend. I receive at least 20 to 30 letters daily in my office from parents asking that we help them pay school fees for their children and I have written at least a thousand times that our funds were too limited. Chinese families are very conscious of the advantages of an education and often go to great sacrifices to send their children to school.

### **Student Problem**

Thousands of students have come from China and they cannot be absorbed into the Hong Kong economy. They hate communism when they leave and they come with hope of finding freedom from want, fear and insecurity in the West. First they go to the government and ask if there is work for them. There is none. Then they go to the business houses and ask. Again no. The American Consulate is next and they beg for a visa to go and live in the United States but either they are too young or too old, or they have TB or no papers or some other technical reason holds this up. You must realize that most of the people who left China lost their papers during their flight or else they never had them in the first place. Finally, many of the students come to the churches and as a last blow to their spirits, we have to tell them that there

are not enough funds to go around and thus they cannot even find charity. Their hope in democracy, in human rights and in Christianity is crushed and they become bitterly disillusioned.

### **The Lutheran World Federation**

Through our Dept. of World Service office, we are trying to meet some of these needs in Hong Kong, but all our efforts are almost as nothing compared with what should be done. We distribute food and clothing packages to about 70,000 people twice each month. We have aided 500 families with self-help funds to start small businesses and support themselves. We have given emergency cash assistance to many other families to buy necessary blankets or medicines. We have treated several thousand patients in our medical program but this too is totally inadequate to meet the needs.

It would take millions of dollars to build up industry to employ more people in Hong Kong and it would take more millions to provide good housing and schooling. The millions would be available among the wealthy Western governments if we had the guiding principle to release the funds.

God does not want people to suffer as they do in Hong Kong. TB is curable and hunger and diseases can be checked. But it is a matter of outside help which we could give if we cared enough to do so. We need to make use of our high-sounding words of "Christian love" and "human rights".

I sometimes feel as if I were sitting on a waterfront and watching a ship sinking with thousands of helpless human beings on board. Rescue ships are nearby and life-boats and all materials available to save these people, but instead, we send out radio messages asking others to help. We do not do the logical thing. We must apply our Christian faith to these problems. We as Christians are totally responsible for helping to alleviate the need in Hong Kong.

God gives us now an opportunity in Hong Kong to save these people. The questions is whether or not we are willing to accept this—to realize that money only has value if it is used to help human life. We must help first and save later. Christians must be active in their witness; they must be revolutionary and live up to their faith as the Communists so effectively live up to



theirs. We must love our neighbor not in words, but in deeds and actions and by a conscious dedication of ourselves to aid where the need is so great.

Money and used clothing are needed, even from individuals; open doors into countries with the room and expanding economies to absorb Chinese labor are desperately needed; love is needed to accept these people when they arrive and finally, prayers are needed for the refugees now in Hong Kong and for those of us who are trying to serve them as best we can.

*K. L. Stumpf*

## *Great Britain*

### **A Paying Guest at Hothorpe!**

Something had to be done about finding a place for Lutherans in England to hold conferences and youth camps. There were 30,000 Lutherans in the country belonging to refugee churches of many national backgrounds loosely organized at the top in a Lutheran Council of Great Britain. However, they needed a center which the local congregations could support as a common and unifying project and which would create more interest in church life.

The search for such a place began in early 1955, led by the Lutheran World Federation's representative in Great Britain at that time, Dr. David Ostergren, an American from the Augustana Lutheran Church. A house was found out among the rolling hills and open fields of central England, a stately country mansion, imposing with its gate-houses and stables and the aristocratic atmosphere of its location overlooking the little village of Theddingworth. This was Hothorpe Hall.

Although the house was old, 18th century actually, it was in good condition. A former occupant had remodeled it in 1930 and installed central heating. What was even more interesting, however, was the fact that the large house, a chapel, stables and 12 acres of land including a playfield, acre-sized garden, wooded park, trout ponds and greenhouses were all on sale for the fantastically low sum of \$ 9,500. Urgent repairs and necessary painting and furni-

ture were estimated to cost another \$ 4,400 since the house had not been occupied for years, but it was still a bargain and Dave Ostergren's thrifty bargain sense couldn't let this one go by. He bought it with funds from the LWF and asked the Rev. Lloyd Swantz, a young Evangelical Lutheran Church (USA) pastor working in England, to move in and develop the project.

When Lloyd Swantz first came to Hothorpe Hall in April of 1955, he had to find his way to the main door through a field of weeds grown knee-high from years of neglect. Vines covered the outside walls, and the rich garden area and orchard were choked in tall grass. There was no running water or electricity in the house and he slept the first weeks on the floor, lighting a candle to read his evening prayers. It was lonely, cold and dark. Every corner of the house needed some attention as well as the grounds. Reminiscing about these first days, Pastor Swantz says he never felt really defeated out there, but there were many times when he felt "plenty helpless and let down". And it is when one gets into that helpless, prayerful position that God can take over and work through people, he believes, "and God has been working overtime at Hothorpe"!

A call for volunteer labor went out to all the Lutheran congregations in the country and groups from various areas began coming out on week-ends to help paint, build and clean—doing whatever job each person felt qualified to handle. A Latvian engineer from Leicester became caught up with the possibilities at Hothorpe and decided to join Pastor Swantz in full-time work. He had been a factory manager in Latvia before taking refuge in England. He tackled the job of repairing the boiler and painting part of the main house. He also encouraged his Latvian friends to spend more time at the Hall.

Every Sunday there were one or two services in the little chapel which had been used for Roman Catholic services when Hothorpe was a private residence. The services were in many languages, depending on the work-party out for the day—Estonian, German, Latvian, Polish or English.

A mixed group of university students from the Continent and America studying in England worked together with volunteers from the churches to get the place ready for



summer Bible camps. Four hundred children were to come during the six holiday weeks from the refugee congregations. Among these students were six from Finland who came at the suggestion of Marja, Pastor Swantz's Finnish fiancée, who was doing mission work in Tanganyika until last year when she, too, came to Hothorpe, as Mrs. Swantz. The Finnish students stayed the summer, working for their board and room.

For the campers, beds were bought at low cost through an army surplus sale, but they turned out to be a problem. To accommodate 100 children in the house, some way had to be found to take out the single iron beds and put two together making double bunks of them. They needed special tools for this job and a man with "know-how" in metal work. This emergency was met unexpectedly when a "rough and tough" Hungarian Lutheran actually quit his job in London and came out to Hothorpe bringing his power tools along. With a hint to some Estonians in a nearby town, a crew of 12 men came out for two evenings after work and painted the beds until past midnight. It seemed to Pastor Swantz and his volunteer workers that Hothorpe Hall was being particularly blessed by God as each "emergency" was met and overcome.

Meanwhile, plumbing and electricity were installed. The garden was replanted and cared for as well as the 60 fruit trees, with professional gardeners giving free help and advice. More helpers came—an American Lutheran art instructor doing graduate work in London became so inspired with the possibilities of youth work through Hothorpe that he cancelled his return passage and job back in the States and came out with his wife for a year of volunteer service. They also encouraged a young English fellow to come out and plaster walls and paint, who in turn got another two of his friends to come. During those first weeks before the summer camps, some 38 persons contributed 78 weeks of volunteer labor.

There were still many problems to be met. Most of them were simple, however, compared to the gigantic task of finding a cook. Lloyd Swantz had been using all his Christian sense of service and love by toiling over a hot stove each mealtime to provide some sort of nourishment for his busy crews. The project just did not have any funds whereby a cook's salary could

be paid and as the day approached for 100 children to arrive for the first week of camp, Swantz began to get desperate. He prepared himself to cook for the summer—set up menus, ordered bulk food shipments, read recipe books and asked for advice on all sides. Then, by chance, with the first batch of children came an Estonian mother who graciously offered to help in the kitchen. This worked for the few days of the first camp. As it came time for her to go, Pastor Swantz remembered that a Polish cook had once visited the Hall and he might be able to help. Jan Skotnicki was tracked down and turned out to be the chef in a good hotel. However, he not only offered to help out at Hothorpe, but decided to leave his job with its good salary to serve full-time at the Hall without salary. "I guess God didn't feel that cooking was my calling", Swantz says.

One other little incident served to emphasize again to those at Hothorpe how God was working overtime to help them. Children at the camps were being fed very well at an extremely marginal price. Then, one day, to Pastor Swantz's horror, a camp leader and some of the teachers demanded that the children be fed milk three times a day besides what they were already being given on cereal, in tea and puddings. It was really a financial question, impossible without additional income which also seemed impossible. Part of Pastor Swantz's own salary was going into operation of the Hall. In pure faith, however, he said he would arrange it. That very afternoon, a lorry pulled up to the house with an unexpected load of free American surplus foods—700 pounds of powdered milk and some cheese and butter to boot. In a short period, more than 4,000 pounds of these commodities arrived for the Hall. Some may call it coincidence, but the Hall staff knows it is working under a particularly benevolent God who arranges such coincidences.

As the summer camp season passed successfully as it is doing each year, conferences and retreats of all kinds designed to strengthen the Christian faith and church life of Lutherans in England were arranged. Monthly laymen's retreats were held with such themes as "The Bible Speaks on Courtship and Marriage", "The Adventure of Prayer", "From Doubt to Faith" and many others. Youth conferences often



featured American and European church leaders visiting in England.

Then came the missionaries—Elma on her way to Formosa, Kerttu en route to Tanganyika, Kyllikki to Ovamboland, Anna-Liisa to Palestine, Dr. Schmitt to Egypt and many, many others. Hothorpe Hall was opened up as a language school for Lutheran missionaries from Scandinavia and Germany who needed to learn English for their work on mission fields in Asia and Africa. A full-time English instructor was hired and the necessary teaching equipment purchased for classes averaging 10 persons today. Lessons in Swahili are also taught by Marja Swantz for those going to East Africa. The missionaries not only provided an additional source of income in the otherwise less active winter period, but they also provided a never-ending source of speakers for week-end conferences and a willing volunteer labor force in between times. Just as a footnote on this program, Mrs. Swantz met an African artist, Sam Ntiro, during her four years in Tanganyika. While studying in England last year where he exhibited many of his paintings and appeared on television, he visited Hothorpe and made a present of three of his works to the Hall, a series depicting missionary work in Africa.

Much of the planning for the early part of 1956 was building up toward August 18, the day set aside for the dedication of Hothorpe at a time when the LWF Commission on World Service, then meeting in London, could be present. Funds for the Hall had come through this Commission.

During the dedication service, a large congregation from all parts of England and with many different mother tongues, sat upon plank benches supported by bales of straw in front of an altar built up before the chapel. Greetings were given by Dr. Ostergren, Pastor Swantz and members of the Commission—Dr. Harry Johansson, Bishop Volkmar Hertrich, the Rev. Henrik Hauge and the Rev. Bengt Hoffman, director of the LWF Department of World Service. Visitors included ELC President Fredrik Schiotz, Archbishop Theodore Grünbergs of the Latvian Church-in-Exile, LWF Executive Secretary Dr. Carl E. Lund-Quist and others. Dr. Paul C. Empie, chairman of the LWF Commission, gave the dedication address, basing it on Romans 12: 1-2. Bishop Fierla of the Polish Lutheran

Church in England led the liturgy. A mixed choir, many of its members in their national costumes, sang the hymns. Ushers included two American Lutheran theology students who were working at Hothorpe on LWF scholarships for a term.

The day of dedication was no culmination of a year's work, but a sort of second beginning. Things are running more smoothly now than before and the gears of weekly meetings, language classes and house and ground maintenance are grinding away with less difficulty. A full-time staff is handling the daily routine—Eva, an English school teacher; Jan, the Polish cook and Julius, a Hungarian carpenter who came for a Christmas retreat and didn't want to leave. There are also Virve and Heino, an Estonian couple who help manage the house, a German teacher, a Finnish youth worker and a Scandinavian missionary doing necessary tasks. Marja and Lloyd Swantz are providing the leadership for future planning and daily operations. With volunteer labor, including 20 young American soldiers from a nearby army camp, work was begun on the stables to turn them into dormitories and is still being carried on. Pastor Swantz looks at the future program of Hothorpe as becoming something like what the Evangelical Academies in Germany have developed with their series of conferences reaching church and un-church people.

The Swantzes have a right to make big plans for the future of Hothorpe. They and the countless persons who have seen a vision for the church of Christ in the work of the Hall have built it into something which is putting a real heart and spirit into the Lutheran congregations of England and providing an inspiration for all aspects of their church life. Finances are still a problem—the expenses of the remodeled stables will be high, restoration of the chapel is necessary and many other projects. But, this problem will somehow be met as all the others have been.

In a report to the Commission on World Service a few months after he moved into the Hall, Pastor Swantz wrote:

"May I add in closing that I BELIEVE IN HOTHORPE HALL. I believe it is an investment of God. It will do more for the building and strengthening of our church in England than any other single factor I know. It is the spiritual program carried

out through Hothorpe that makes Hothorpe a blessing to our people and a glory to God. It is already quite evident that Christ has become a paying guest at Hothorpe! We have met him here daily in our Bible studies and devotions and through discussions and personal witness. We feel he has a great mission to perform through Hothorpe Hall and we only pray that we

and this Hall will be used as instruments to that end."

The Commission, knowing Pastor Swantz's zeal in his work and knowing what near-miracles have already been accomplished in setting up the project on a shoe-string budget, is quite ready to believe in Hothorpe Hall right along with him.

A. Jean Olson



## BOOK REVIEWS

### *Christ and the State*

THE STATE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.  
By Oscar Cullmann. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956. ix and 123 pages.  
\$ 2.50.

Oscar Cullmann, of Basel and the Sorbonne, exerts great influence on the English-speaking theological world, not because he has lectured in a number of American schools with enough impact to merit notice in such a popular weekly magazine as *Time*, but also because, rare honor, most of his writings have already appeared in English translation. Such unusual influence calls for careful evaluation.

The present volume constitutes lectures presented in the United States at several eastern seminaries and universities (to which the book is dedicated) in early 1955 under the Hewett Foundation, but reflecting previous writings, notably his *Königsherrschaft Christi und Kirche im Neuen Testament* (1941), *The Earliest Christian Confessions* (English translation, 1949), and *Christ and Time* (English translation, 1950). To these lectures is appended an Excursus "On the most recent discussion of the ἐξουσία in Romans 13:1", which appeared first in the *Theologische Zeitschrift*, 1954, pp. 321-336. The English is clear, presentation easy to follow; only occasionally is the origin as lectures suggested, and there are but few passing references to post-war debate in Europe on the subject of the state; good indices are added.

After a brief introductory statement of the problem, four short chapters follow, the first on "Jesus and the Resistance Movement of the Zealots", Cullmann's chosen starting point. Jesus, not himself a Zealot, had one or more adherents from that political action group among the Twelve. He was constantly confronted by the Zealot challenge and was at the last condemned by Rome, according to chapter two, as a Zealot. But Jesus repudiated such activist movements, though still remaining critical of the Roman state. His own attitude, which colors

the entire New Testament, was essentially twofold: Jesus "does not regard the State as in any sense a *final*, divine institution: on the other hand, . . . he accepts the state and radically renounces every attempt to overthrow it" (p. 18).

This double view Cullmann finds reflected in the rest of the New Testament. In Paul (chapter 3), according to Rom. 13, I Cor. 6 and 2:8 (II Thess. 2:6 is held not to deal with the state), it is emphasized that the state is a temporary institution, not of divine nature but willed by God, which believers regard critically yet obey "as far as it remains within its bounds" (pp. 69 f.). John in the Apocalypse, chapter four holds, follows a line in harmony with the basic New Testament position, only by now the state has changed and is judged exclusively with reference to the extremes of emperor worship.

The conclusion thus sees a consistent scriptural view, dual in nature, held in tension, rooted in the New Testament eschatology of both "already fulfilled" and "not yet completed". The book has the particular merit of trying to see the entire New Testament evidence and does justice to its dialectical view along lines that are certainly as a whole correct.

Numerous details of interpretation stimulate controversy, and most sparks fly over the application of *exousiai* in Rom. 13 not merely to the officials of the empirical state, but also in Cullmann's view, vigorously assailed by Bultmann among others and given spirited defense in the Excursus, to the "angel powers" that stand behind the state. This hypothesis, it is argued, is justified by Jewish concepts, early Christian theology, and philology, particularly the fact that in every other instance in Paul the word *exousiai* means "invisible, demonic powers" (p. 100).

One is reminded of Thomas De Quincey's essay concerning *spilagchna* in Acts 1:18—everywhere else in the New Testament this word has a figurative sense; why not give it the same meaning here and render (instead of "all his bowels gushed out"), Judas "plunged headlong to ruin and died

broken-hearted"? The suggestion was brilliant, logical—but unperpetuated in most lexicons today! The same fate may result here. While it is laudable to seek a christological basis for the state (as the New Testament seems to do, e.g., for creation), one is not fully convinced that the biblical writers did this very plainly; it is a bit like seeking a christological basis for marriage: certainly New Testament thought has implications here, but a clear-cut new basis and doctrine is another matter.

Many unanswered questions arise about the hypothesis. Are the "angelic powers" which Cullmann sees behind the state in the New Testament all evil powers, conquered and tethered by the "Christ-event", or were some good, others evil angels, as late Judaism supposed and Cullmann himself seems to note (pp. 65, 110)? What criterion helped one distinguish "good" from "evil" angels behind a state? If some of them were good (e.g., the Twelve Legions of them in Matt. 26:53) before Christ's conquest of the demonic powers at the cross, what was their relation to the empirical states they seconded? And what basis was there for the state prior to the "Christ-event" in the divine ordering?

The most telling evidence against the hypothesis, however, appears to come from the New Testament itself. In a note on p. 70 it is observed, "We have not devoted a special chapter to the two passages I Peter 2:13 f. and Titus 3:1 f. because, with most exegetes, we recognize a material and perhaps literary relationship between them and Rom. 13:1 ff." Then Cullmann cites with apparent approval the view of E. G. Selwyn in his commentary, *The First Epistle of St. Peter* (London: 1946), that these passages, plus I Tim. 2:1 ff., have a common source underlying them, to which I Pet. 2:13 f. stands in closest relationship. It is these very parallel passages which seem to undercut Cullmann's interpretation of *exousiai* in Rom. 13. Selwyn, on p. 427, arranges the four in columns to show their remarkable similarity in tone and vocabulary. The I Peter passage, it can then be observed, so closely akin to Rom. 13, offers an unambiguous interpretation of just what believers are to be obedient towards: "Be subject for the Lord's sake to every human institution" (or, with the RSV note, "every institution ordained for man"), namely,

"... to the emperor as supreme, or to governors as sent by him ...", not "angel powers", but officials of the empirical state. I Tim. 2:2 speaks of "kings and all who are in high positions", and Titus 3:1 gives no comfort to the notion that the "rulers and authorities" there mentioned are demonic beings.

Thus the oldest parallels and interpretations we have for the *exousiai* of Rom. 13, dating perhaps only a decade or more after Romans, say nothing about angelic powers, but do speak of kings, governors, etc. If exegetes in recent times have missed the added meaning Cullmann proposes for this term, so also, it must be stated, did interpreters of the apostolic period. And if, as Selwyn claims, I Pet. 2:13 f. stands nearest to the common source, we must also say that Paul departed from the original sense and inserted a new meaning so unusual that no other writer in the succeeding years followed him. Granted that the I Peter passage is in a *heilsgeschichtlich* context and that I Timothy grounds its exhortation to intercessions for all men and officials "on the fact of the universality of the salvation offered through the Gospel" (Selwyn, p. 428), more explanation and evidence is needed to establish the double sense proposed for *exousiai* and the resulting christological basis for the state in the face of these parallel passages and the other problems raised.

Some final random observations. On p. 11, note 2, the pointing of the Greek *ou* needs correction, and the reference to E. Stauffer, *Christus und die Cäsaren* on p. 36, note 10, can now be given in the excellent English translation by K. and R. Gregor Smith (London: SCM, 1955). The view on pp. 47 f., that Barabbas was a Zealot insurrectionist, has received additional support in the Arndt-Gingrich translation of Bauer's *Wörterbuch* (sub voce *lestes*, col. 474a, meaning 2), citing evidence not in Bauer's fourth German edition but available for the fifth, which is now appearing.

To conclude, however, on such minor details and to stress only disagreements about one particular hypothesis is disingenuous; biblical scholarship, especially the English-speaking segment, must be grateful for this succinct, encompassing and stimulating little book.

John Reumann



## *Missions Past and Present*

SAMENES KRISTNING OG FINNE-  
MISJONEN TIL 1888. By Adolf Steen.  
Oslo: Egede Instituttet, 1954. 327 pp. with  
English summary and numerous indexes.

AFRIKANISCHE PASSION / THE PAS-  
SION IN AFRICA. By Hans Leuenberger.  
Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1957. Illustrat-  
ed with 24 photographs. DM. 14.80.

CHRISTIANITY AND AFRICAN CUL-  
TURE. Accra, Ghana: Christian Council of  
the Gold Coast, 1955. 80 pp.

FOR THE HEART OF AFRICA. By Ruth  
Christiansen. Minneapolis: Augsburg Pub-  
lishing House, 1956. 271 pp. \$ 3.50.

AM TOR DER GELBEN GÖTTER. By  
G. T. Bull. Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus Verlag,  
1956. 312 pp. DM. 12.80.

PRESENTING CHRIST TO INDIA TO-  
DAY. By P. D. Devanandam et al. Madras:  
The Christian Literature Society, 1956. 62  
pp. Rs. 1/12.

THE CHURCH UNDER THE CROSS.  
By J. B. Phillips. London: The Highway  
Press, 1956 128 pp. 8s. 6d. New York: The  
Macmillan Company, 1956. 128 pp. \$ 2.50.

MISSIONS TODAY. By Rosalyn S. Sease.  
Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, revised  
edition, 1957. 93 pp. \$ 0.50.

CHALLENGE AND CONFORMITY. By  
K. S. Latourette. New York: Harper &  
Brothers, 1955. 126 pp. \$ 1.75.

A MAN SENT FROM GOD. By W. Reg-  
inald Wheeler. Westwood, N. J.: The  
Fleming H. Revell Company, 1956. 333 pp.  
\$ 3.95.

DIE GROSSEN NICHTCHRISTLICHEN  
RELIGIONEN. By Karl Jaspers et al. Stutt-  
gart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1954. 126 pp.  
DM 5.50.

THE CRISIS IN WORLD POPULATION.  
By J. O. Hertzler. Lincoln: University of  
Nebraska Press, 1956. 279 pp. \$ 5.00.

Within the Norwegian church there is a  
widespread interest in mission work and a  
genuine understanding of its importance.  
The congregation members are willing to  
sacrifice, and many Norwegian mission-  
aries are working today all over the world.  
Norway has a special missions institute,

Egede Instituttet in Oslo, and among many  
other achievements this institute has  
published five comprehensive scientific  
treatises within the last few years.

The Secretary of Missions, Adolf Steen,  
has written a study on Christianization and  
mission work among the Lapps, a nomadic  
tribe, which since ancient times has been  
living in the northern parts of Norway,  
Sweden, Finland and Russia. At the present  
time, there are altogether 32,600 Lapps,  
most of them farmers and fishermen; a  
small number of them, however, are still  
roaming about with large flocks of reindeer,  
especially in Finnmark and Troendelag in  
Norway.

Adolf Steen's book gives a detailed ac-  
count of the efforts made to preach the  
Gospel and to establish the church among  
the Lapps of Norway from the earliest days  
up to the year 1888.

In addition the book offers a condensed  
survey of the history of the Lapps, the  
earliest written mention of whom was made  
by the Roman historian Cornelius Tacitus  
in his *Germania* in 98 A.D. Adolf Steen's  
book tells about the ancient mythology of  
a tribe famous for its sorcerers, and of the  
Christian influence felt as early as about  
1000 A.D., just shortly after the time when  
Christianity was first brought to Norway.  
During the period of the Reformation,  
many Lapps came under the influence of  
Christian preaching, but it was only at the  
beginning of the 18th century that an  
organized mission was established among  
the Lapps. It is this last period that repre-  
sents the main part of Adolf Steen's book.

King Frederik IV of Denmark and Nor-  
way, who in 1706 founded the Mission at  
Tranquebar, India, and who later sent Hans  
Egede to Greenland, also sponsored the  
initiation of missionary work among the  
Norwegian Lapps in 1714. Interestingly  
enough, the missionary work among the  
Lapps developed in almost the same way as  
the missionary work far away in the East:  
first, a few glorious formative years (1716  
—26) under the leadership of a young  
pietist, Thomas v. Westen, of whose work  
we get a most favorable picture. He was  
only 35 years old when he started out, and  
when he died he was 45 years of age. But  
in this short time he became the great  
organizer of the mission and a kind of  
apostle. Following his death, there was a



period of decline, then a period of revival and again a period of decline (1774–1825) while the great wave of Rationalism swept over Europe, until the time when the second great missionary and Bible translator, Chr. Stockfeldt, brought new life to the mission and a new era began.

The author stresses the fact that when the mission's work was flourishing, divine services and religious instruction were given in the Lappish language, while in times of decline the authorities were more interested in the use of the Norwegian language. Both Chr. Stockfeldt and his successor became professors for the Lappish and Finnish languages at the University of Christiania (Oslo), and Chr. Stockfeldt saw to it that it became a prerequisite for future ministers for Lappish districts to pass a language examination at the University.

The book also gives a short English summary and many valuable indexes which may be useful even for people with no reading knowledge of Norwegian.

Mogens V. Zeuthen

From among the numerous "amateur theatrical productions", "preaching plays" and representations of biblical themes and of events in the history of the so-called "younger churches", we have in *The Passion in Africa* a distinguished example with excellent photographs. This attempt was undertaken in 1954 by the theological seminary in Mukono. What was achieved was thus more than the effect of one of the familiar sermons, because far more people were reached and because the audience belong to a people who learn everything through their eyes, as it is put in the introduction, which is printed in English and German. One must read this introduction really carefully if one wants to have the full benefit of the pictures of the Passion of Christ as represented by Africans. These are not posed pictures. On the contrary, they were taken without the actors' knowledge in the course of the play with an exposure of 1/5000 of a second. What the chorales are to the Oberammergau festival plays, are here the Negro spirituals, the themes of almost all of which derive in fact from the Bible and which are here included in the book. This "wholly naturalistic representation"—in keeping with the very being of the African—of the Last Supper, of the

hearing before Pilate, the Crucifixion and the events of Easter Day, is among the best testimonies that have come to us from the "mission field" and in the area of "ecumenical art".

The series of lectures *Christianity and African Culture*, published by the Christian Council of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), presents some of the problems behind such joyful witnessing. The conference held in Accra in May 1955 had many very special features, one of the most important of which was the fact that here it was primarily Africans who by virtue of their high education and their competence were able to express themselves and participate in undertaking an analysis of the church as it is and its relationships to its environment. The themes give an insight into the broad content of the lectures and the discussions (The African World, etc.).

*For the Heart of Africa* is a book of a quite different kind. It introduces one to the genuine pioneer work which was begun by A. Gunderson in 1912 and was taken over by the Evangelical Lutheran Church (America) in 1950. The book is a story of this Sudan mission between the Sahara and the Congo, in which valiant women play a great part, women who one time were on tour for a whole year! But what does it mean to "travel" here! The river crossing described on page 94 would have been enough even for men's strong nerves. Of great significance beside the proclamation of the Word is also "the ministry of mercy". When the first Bayas were converted, the work did not become easier but more difficult (p. 60). Now there is an industrial and a Bible school; together with the Norwegian Mission a joint Lutheran hospital is being built in Ngaoundere, and a Union Lutheran seminary is being planned (p. 268). After such a short time a Baya pastor has already been ordained. One sees that the work is diverse and has a definite purpose, something which is typical of our time.

*Am Tor der gelben Götter* also introduces one to a piece of pioneer work, which ends in prison. Tibet is one of the few closed countries in the world. The author, a free missionary like the Moravians in North India, waited in the frontier area "at the gate" between Tibet itself (which he also entered) and Chinese Tibet. And he is able to tell us much about the land and its people, something that even well-read mis-



sion men will read with profit. At the time of the capitulation of the national Tibetan armed forces he found himself as an Englishman and a missionary in the thick of these events, and he decided to remain. The consequence was inevitable: at twenty-nine he learned to bear the heavy cross of a three-year imprisonment. This he describes. And that is interesting in itself. But more important than all the details of arrest and hearings, is to see how as a Christian he lives through and endures this time of great affliction. Entering the dark cell "I was too stunned to be able to pray". When his mind threatened to give way he learned to know anxiety of soul and the fear of death. But he maintained the "patience and faith of the saints". The book is also a great help in his own spiritual life to the reader who asks himself how he might have faced the same situation, whether he would have been able to affirm his readiness "also to suffer for his sake" (Phil. 1:29) and to maintain that "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me" (Phil. 4:13).

The booklet *Presenting Christ to India Today* witnesses to the attempts to give new form to the message of the Gospel in the India of today. What three leading Indians said in broad perspective in their lectures at the synod of the Church of South India in January of 1956 ("The India We Live in"; "The Christian Message in the Indian Setting"; "Messengers of Christ Today") is brought to a close by the only European collaborating in this work (Bishop L. Newbigin) in his sermon on "Witnessing to Jesus Christ": "The Christian life is itself in its very nature a life of witness"! Anyone concerned with India would do well to study particularly the first two lectures. Here there is much to learn. One is a bit disappointed by the third lecture (by Bishop Appasamy) because something else might have been expected. What he says about the students, pastors and bishops is very interesting. But one would like to know how a "messenger of Christ today" should look and of what kind of metal he should be made, in order to gain a hearing among the Hindus of today.

In addition to the books from the field here under review, there are also those books which give a survey and which are very valuable, particularly for the local congregation. *The Church under the Cross*

is such a book. The author does not know the field himself, but he has shown that in spite of this it is possible to write something good about mission work. He has read many of the letters from the Church Missionary Society from Asia and Africa, and describes the whole life of the churches there. Everything is included, and everything is seen from the point of view of the cross: how it is to be preached and how it is also to be taken up in our thought, to be laid upon every trace of self-centered thought and upon everything which needs correction by the cross, as, for example, our attitude toward race, toward our neighbor, toward fellowship, toward confession, toward having to wait a long time to see the work bear fruit. It is truly good and certainly salutary for all those working in missions to read what the author has to say on pages 170 ff. about the crosses which people make for themselves. Here much that is valuable is said, and it is said differently for once: it should really be noted! Our false standards can only too easily become a self-made cross, for example our haste, our escape into solitude and going it alone, our disregard of the little and "unimportant things" (because we gladly seek the great things which attract attention!). The warning against "high pressure Christianity" does us all good—including those industrious persons who are in danger of being worn out in their work and who are willing to be so.

*Missions Today* offers all Christians who read English a fine opportunity to inform themselves very quickly about large areas of the work. It is one of the smallest and best study books (with questions for discussion) which I have come across, and which I can only recommend for work in the congregation, particularly also for youth groups. In the third edition, however, corrections should be made on page 38: the first Lutheran medical missionary was a man, a German; he landed as early as 1730, and was called Dr. Schlegelmilch; on page 89, the number of Christians in Africa should be raised to 24 million, and on page 93, for B. Ziegenbalg one should substitute the name of Count von Zinzendorf.

*Challenge and Conformity*, on the other hand, demands more of the reader, for it offers "Studies in the interaction of Christianity and the world of today". The person who knows the field will not find much



that is new. But everything is worth reading. Especially the Christian and the theologian who is interested in the ecumenical movement should not pass up this survey on the strength, the characteristics and the influence of Christianity in Europe, the USA and the non-Western world. He will be able to learn much.

If a contemporary of John Mott's can be characterized as the greatest man of his time, then the book *A Man Sent from God* must be indispensable for the historian and the ecumenicist. Indeed, one can only advise the reader not to pass up this biography of Dr. Robert E. Speer: he would miss too much pertinent information and he would become acquainted with one significant worker less in the kingdom of God! No less a person than John A. Mackay calls him "the greatest personality I have ever known" (p. 9) and is of the opinion that Speer "enlisted more men and women for Christ's service than any voice in the last hundred years" (p. 10). He found over one thousand student volunteers for the mission field (p. 126)! He must have been an all-round person, who also did not lack humor, who used his abilities wisely, who for 46 years was secretary of the board of foreign missions of the Presbyterians, and yet in all these long years never spoke disparagingly or critically of his colleagues, and whose diligence was evident in the fact that he wrote and edited 67 books. One can easily imagine what insights into the work of missions at home and abroad and what wisdom in regard to his methods of work and his treatment of human beings is assembled in this extensive book. In addition one must recognize that Speer was a layman, just as Mott was—well before one began talking so much about laymen's work as we do today. Also the index of eleven closely printed pages is one of the merits of this significant book, which is one of the greatest biographies of the total church.

All the books I have mentioned exist only because there is and must be the mission of the church, conditioned as it is by the existence of the heathen religions. Therefore it is important again and again to get to know the great non-Christian religions (*Die großen nichtchristlichen Religionen*). This is easy when one can follow proven experts (including Karl Jaspers), who have much to say with astonishing brevity on the nature and origin of religion

(Menschung), on Hinduism (von Glase-napp), on Buddhism (W. Gundert), on Chinese religion (W. Fuchs), on Parsiism (O. Hansen), on Judaism (H. J. Schoeps), on Islam (R. Paret), and on the non-Christian religions and the West (K. Jaspers). The names vouch for quality. It is precisely very busy people who find here a good and brief introduction to the world of religions, without a knowledge of which one cannot understand world events today. In regard to the thesis of Karl Jaspers on page 119: "In the 19th and 20th centuries it often happened (!) that Protestant missionaries in China were so gripped by the depth of Chinese thought that at the same time they changed their roles and returned to the West as 'missionaries of China'", one would like to be provided with some names. We ourselves know of no one in the 19th century, and only Richard Wilhelm in the 20th century.

If someone were to ask me, "Of all the books you have reviewed here, I can only read one—which should it be?", I should say, read at all costs *The Crisis in World Population*, this "sociological examination with special reference to the underdeveloped areas". If anyone should be concerned about humanity as it is today—in its immensity and in its hunger!—then it should be the Christian and the theologian. Again and again I have pointed out the tremendous growth of the population of the world (and the diminution of the church). I do it again here: "There are five more persons in the world every four seconds, and around 90 thousand more every 24 hours" (p. 9). The 2.4 billion human beings as of 1950 will increase:

in 1975 to 3.4 billion
in 2000 to 4.8 billion
in 2025 to 6.0 billion
in 2050 to 6.7 billion.

The church here as always has to be concerned about the *whole* man, also about the conditions of his life and about his hunger and the question of longevity, which in itself gives rise to new practical theological questions. We cannot relegate this world so fraught with problems to the sociologists and economists. This book, with its 279 pages, should be noted at the right points by the right people, in the leadership of the church as well as in the theological faculties. *Arno Lehmann*



## *The Doctrine and Practice of the Ministry*

WASSER, RING UND ERDE. *Handreichung für Lehre und Ordnung in Taufe, Trauung und Bestattung*. Edited by Wilhelm von Rohden and Horst Lahr. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2nd. edition, 1954. 168 pp. DM 4.—

GOTTES HEIMSUCHUNG DURCH WORT UND SAKRAMENT. *Ein Beitrag zur biblisch-reformatischen Lehre vom geistlichen Amt*. Edited by Wilhelm von Rohden and Horst Lahr. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1955. 260 pp. DM 9.80.

The Rector of the Pastoral Institute of the Church of the Province of Saxony at Ilsenburg, W. von Rohden, and his colleague are to be congratulated on having made generally available "to our brethren in the ministry" the conclusions of the study of a fairly large group of pastors. The theological program of the pastoral conferences had as its general theme in 1952 "Baptism, marriage and burial". In order thoroughly to work over and analyze this theme, the Pastoral Institute then devoted itself with changing personnel for a year to this whole area. Later, in a similar way, an understanding of the ministry—seen as the "visitation" of the world by Jesus Christ in Word and Sacrament—was "worked out in cooperation with many brethren". Thus we are presented with the results of two years of theological work on these decisive themes of pastoral theology.

Characteristic for both works is the biblical basis which is given to the various themes: baptism, marriage, burial, Word, Sacrament, the ministry of the Word (office and offices), and—particularly in the second work—the detailed references to the Lutheran Confessions. At the same time relating this to the present situation is by no means neglected. Quite the contrary! Not only the numerous bibliographical references, but also the very basic perspective and the practical hints arising out of it make both books a considerable help for the everyday practice of the ministry.

The four questions on baptism in the Small Catechism, with their basis in Romans 6, the question of infant baptism treated in an excursus, the connection between baptism and repentance, the "daily-

ness" of baptism, that is, the daily return to baptism as the foundation of the Christian life, all this forms the basis for consideration of counseling before baptism as pastoral counseling and a pastoral responsibility. In the same way, the study of the doctrine of Eros in the Genesis account—Genesis 2—leads on to individual studies on marriage counseling and marriage, and, in a corresponding way in regard to burial, to the "doctrine of Christian consolation"—John 11. The question of the order of occasional services should always be considered under: *the responsibility of ascertaining* (clarification of the situation), *the responsibility of proclamation* and *the responsibility of preparation* (preparing for, and giving form to the service).

The second book has its emphasis in giving a biblical and theological foundation to the ministry of the Word. The theme, "The Penitential Ministry of Jeremiah as a Ministry of the Word of the Twofold Visitation", treated from von Rohden's highly individual viewpoint, introduces this section. It is followed by what is almost a monograph on "The Office of the Ministry and Offices of the Ministry according to the Lutheran Confessions" (Lahr) with 80 pages of notes in the appendix and a number of indexes (index of biblical references and quotations from the various writings of the Book of Concord). A chapter on "The Practice of the Ministry Today" brings the book to a close. Here, especially in von Rohden's summary of the conclusions of the Pastoral Institute, specific help is given with regard to the ministry of the Word. "The Ordination Vow as a Decalog of Ministerial Duties", ("decalog" not of course being taken seriously) is developed in ten "obligations": preach the Word of God (preacher); administer the sacraments (priest); take care of souls (pastor); teach soundly (catechist); seek the peace of the city; tend your house; redeem the time; understand what you read; pray for all; first and foremost, make a new beginning every day! Each of these pregnant theses is followed by a practical discussion.

Not every group of pastors engaged in theological work, not every pastoral institute, will be able to obtain under experienced leadership such results of common study, to say nothing of getting them published. And so, intended for the benefit of a wider circle and speaking for others as



well, these works may be gratefully accepted from the editors.

Horst Beintker

## *Luther in English*

LUTHER'S WORKS. *American Edition.* Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan and H. T. Lehmann. Issued in 55 volumes by Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, and Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia.

Volume 12. *Selected Psalms I.* Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955. 418 pp. \$ 5.00.

Volume 13. *Selected Psalms II.* Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956. 451 pp. \$ 5.00.

Volume 21. *The Sermon on the Mount and The Magnificat.* Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956. 383 pp. \$ 5.00.

It is hardly an exaggeration to maintain that among the great and scarcely mastered problems of Lutheranism today is the fact that the works of the man after whom our churches are named are known beyond the borders of his own country to only a very limited extent. Even today one hears again and again the opinion expressed that Lutheranism is the particular confessional manifestation of Protestantism in Germany whereas other countries and peoples must hold to other manifestations of Protestantism more suitable to them. Outside Germany, in fact, Luther is known very, very little (apart, of course from specialists in the field). The main obstacle to a deep penetration into the work of the Reformer is his language. It is precisely many of his most fundamental writings which are in Latin, a language which has long since ceased to be the international language of the learned and more and more is disappearing from the pre-university educational program. Luther's German writings now and then meet the same fate even in his homeland for his language is sometimes as far removed from the German spoken today as Shakespeare is from George Bernard Shaw or Cyrano de Bergerac from Jean Paul Sartre. (Luther did not, however, write and speak Middle High German as the publisher's note in Volume 12 of the series under review says.)

There is only one possibility to make Luther accessible again today to wider circles than only the avowed specialists and those theologically interested—to translate his language and bring it up to date. In the German language area noteworthy results in this direction have been achieved. One need only think of the so-called Munich Luther Edition brought out by Georg Merz. But there have been no noteworthy attempts in recent times to introduce and make Luther's writings known outside the German language area in other Lutheran (and non-Lutheran!) churches. Certainly there are more translations of Luther into other languages than one might suppose at first glance; however that in existence is for the most part obsolete and out of print and limited to his so-called chief works. Thus for those outside Germany who want to delve into a study of Martin Luther there is hardly any other alternative than to go to the original text, and for this reason the circle to whom Luther is really accessible is excessively limited.

This state of affairs is particularly regrettable when we think of the Anglo-Saxon language area where an ever growing interest in Luther, which even crosses confessional lines, is to be observed. The writings of Martin Luther have also become a subject of study and interest outside the Lutheran church. A gratifying situation! There has, on the other hand, properly speaking, never been a lack of attempts to make the works of Luther available to a greater English-speaking public. Gordon Rupp has reported in this periodical on the different Luther translations and interpretations. The various reports given at the First International Congress for Luther Research brought to light a surprising number of research projects under way.

This Anglo-Saxon Luther research has taken a decisive step forward by beginning for the first time in the history of the Lutheran church to translate into English the writings of the Reformer on a large scale. We can hardly welcome this undertaking enough, for it does represent an attempt to make Luther's thought accessible not only for broadened study, but to a wider public—extending even beyond the borders of the Lutheran church. It is not the first time Americans have produced a large reference edition. We can thank, for example, a small



group of Schwenkfelders located in Pennsylvania for the only usable edition of the complete works of Caspar Schwenkfeld which is unobjectionable as far as scholarship is concerned. Furthermore, the Missouri Synod undertook to reprint the old Luther edition by Walsch (1880 ff.) which, however, is hopelessly out of date and, especially since the appearance of the Weimar Edition, has simply become obsolete and unusable. Now in the next few years there will appear a 55 volume comprehensive translation of Luther based on the Weimar text. Truly a magnificent effort in every respect! There is a definite necessity and imperative need for such a work if the Gospel as Martin Luther and the church which has taken his name have understood it is truly to go into all the world. Besides, in this matter practically no groundwork has been done: the translation of the parts of the Confessions written by Luther and the so-called *Concordia Triglotta* as a whole are in need of revision; the so-called Philadelphia Edition contains only a limited selection; Bertram Lee Wolf died without having completed more than two volumes of his Luther translation. In short, the American Edition will fill a gap which has not only been noticed, but which has also been strongly felt.

The reviewer would not have such high praise for this undertaking if it weren't that the volumes thus far at hand completely and adequately meet the requisites of such a tremendous project. The selection has been cautiously made; it is the most extensive which has ever been printed, comprising Luther's exegetical and reformation writings, his letters and table talks.

Of the three volumes which have appeared so far numbers 12 and 13 contain expositions of individual Psalms. These have nothing to do with selected sections of the *dictata super psalterium* or the great lectures on the Psalms of the 1530's, but rather Luther's Psalm exegeses which for the most part were published individually during his lifetime or after his death in connection with lectures, sermons, or table talks. (For example the famous exposition on the 23rd Psalm, based on one of Luther's table talks, was edited by Röer and published in 1531.) Special mention should also be made of the exposition of Psalm 51, which appeared in that controversial edition of Dietrich's (1538) but which gives us a deep

insight into Luther's entire theology; and of the interesting exposition of Psalms 82 and 101. (The translation of the first, incidentally, is a reprint from the Philadelphia Edition, Vol. IV, p. 282 ff.) Certainly the Psalms selected here are not exactly to be numbered among the most important works of Luther (even though the comments on the royal Psalms contain basic christological assertions). However they offer a good introduction to the exegetical method of the Reformer. Moreover one is grateful for this selection for it again brings to the fore relatively unknown peripheral writings of Luther.

We are indebted to Jaroslav Pelikan not only for a superior job of editing and a concise (almost too concise) historical introduction to the text and its history, but also for a large part of the translation. It is a fluently written, easily read translation which attempts to approximate as closely as possible the sense and meaning of the phraseology of the authentic Weimar text upon which it is based. It preserves the language peculiarities of English, but is still a translation and not an interpretation. To the non-English-speaking reader, if he reads Luther in a foreign language, the thought of the Reformation is presented in a way which for the most part is completely new. It might, therefore, be an advantage for non-English-speaking students of Luther to read or draw upon the Pelikan translation along with the original.

About the two works contained in volume 21, the Magnificat and the exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, there is actually nothing to be said. It is certainly true that the exposition of the Magnificat is among the most beautiful of anything Luther has written and deserves to become the basis for an "Evangelical mariology"; the exposition of the Sermon on the Mount gives an excellent insight into Luther's ethics. It is to be noted that the translation of the Sermon on the Mount, which first appeared in 1532 as the basis of a sermon series, takes into consideration the various text variants and does not gloss over the language difficulties involved but in various footnotes concedes the possibility of variant translations.

It is hoped that this new edition, a joint undertaking of Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, and Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia, may lead to a renewed, deep

and comprehensive concern with Luther study. At the above-mentioned Congress for Luther Research Gordon Rupp pointed out how much the Reformation owed to the publishers and printers who printed and distributed the writings of the Reformation. That is none the less true today.

In closing permit me to make a critical observation. The American Edition will without doubt come into its own among English-language Luther scholars, and we shall probably receive in due time studies which quote it. It would be more than welcome if the American Edition, therefore, were to note in the margins the page numbers of the Weimar Edition (as the

Clemen and Georg Merz-Munich Editions do). This would give the possibility to those who worked from the American Edition to quote the Weimar Edition as well and would make it possible for the reader to consult the Weimar Edition and or Clemen and Munich Editions. Now that quoting the Weimar Edition has come into its own in international research, it is without doubt an added burden if a second standard source for quotation (the necessity for which should not be disputed) enters the picture. However, this difficulty could be remedied with relatively little effort.

*Hans H. Weissgerber*



## HANNOVER 1952 — MINNEAPOLIS 1957

Five years of work in the Lutheran World Federation lie behind us. They have certainly been decisive years in our history; decisive for the Federation, but also decisive for Lutheranism in general—for the Lutheran churches' consciousness of their relationship to one another, of their relationship to the present-day ecumenical movement, of their relationship to the modern world. Out of the fellowship of churches which was established in Lund under the influence of the post-war emergency for the purpose of rendering mutual aid, a federation has grown which has decided to deal with extremely important questions of church life and congregational practice in an international or ecumenical framework. None of the member churches, for example, makes plans in regard to the future of its mission fields, without taking the other member churches into account, or without taking into account what has been developed in the past years, for example, in the Commission on World Mission as basic Lutheran mission policy. Our churches are on the point of taking up the questions of the Lutheran diaspora or minority churches. They are planning an information service in regard to emigration and immigration, and in several places they have already made the attempt to carry over methods of evangelism and parish education from one country to another.

World organizations of the church have their own set of problems in their work: at times they have a feeling of particular strength which is manifested in the publication of amazing statistics, and at other times they sadly realize the limited possibilities of a small office with a personnel of a few dozen. The truth undoubtedly lies beyond both of these facts. We cannot impress the world with the millions of people who belong to our churches; however, with relatively small resources we can do things which others could not accomplish. The little bread that we give, the small sacrifice we bring, our meager activity and our frequently inadequate endeavor are wonderfully and invisibly increased when the Lord takes them into his hand in order to carry out the work which he purposes.

Thus it may well be said also of the five years between the Hannover and Minneapolis Assemblies: they were years of blessing, even though—indeed because—the real blessing of these years evades presentation in statistical form. Nevertheless it should be possible to make a number of observations in regard to these years which no one will question. In the first place these include observations on the developments in world politics within this half decade, and in the second place observations on the form which the work of the Federation has taken on during the same period.

Developments in world politics have been more favorable to our work in the past five years than we should have dared to hope at Hannover in 1952. True, they have not yet brought us that measure of freedom of movement which we await with such longing. We can visit many of our brethren only with difficulty, if at all, and the letters, books or periodicals we send them make a hazardous journey. But in the years since 1952, not only has the catastrophe which many feared at that time not come about, but on the contrary the situation has been eased in many ways which one would hardly have dared to count on then. At Hannover the churches of Eastern Europe and of the eastern half of Germany were hardly represented at all, and the younger churches of Asia and Africa only in small measure. In all probability that will all be quite different at Minneapolis. We shall be able to meet these brethren of ours there and plan with them the next five-year period of our work. This meeting will be one of a series of such encounters. For the conversation between the churches in East and West has constantly increased in intensity in these years both in the whole ecumenical movement and in world Lutheranism. Since the Vienna meeting of the Executive Committee at the beginning of 1955, when it was possible for a real visit of Lutheran delegates from Rumania, Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia to take place, cooperation with these Eastern minority churches in particular has become ever closer. This cooperation has found expression also in many contributions by Eastern European churchmen which have been published in this magazine. That this has been possible, and that even in the years of separation the conversation, thanks to this magazine, has never been completely broken off, is perhaps one of the least spectacular, but also one of the finest successes of the past five years. In spite of calamity, political flight and oppression in many parts of the world, we have had a measure of peace almost unusual for our generation, and it is to be hoped that we have not failed to make use of it.

But in addition to the in many ways favorable development in world politics, the general theme of the Assembly in Hannover undoubtedly proved to be a much stronger stimulative force than directly after Hannover we believed it would. "The Living Word in a Responsible Church" was certainly as a theme to be given complete treatment dogmatically a gigantic task, the outcome of which could not be really satisfactory to anybody. But the very fact that for once representatives of the church from many countries and from many parts of the world came together to think through their common responsibility in the church and on this basis established plans and organizations for common action is in itself a significant event in the history of the church. The consciousness of unity has become in this work of each for all a basis on which the Minneapolis conversations can build—it is no longer necessary today to create this basis.

But on the other hand there is something else which may well be all the more necessary this time, something which is no less difficult than the task which lay before the Hannover Assembly and the chapter of history which followed upon it. The unity of action and thought which binds our Lutheran churches together is a unity of faith, not of ideology. There is no Lutheran ideology; nor is there a Lutheran "philosophy" which comes forward with the claim to have spoken the last word which is valid for all time. Ideologies talk like this, and that gives them, wherever they emerge in a Christian guise, their great attraction and the seductive effect they have of making Christians think one might here and there learn at least something from them. But the man who is of this opinion fails to see the structural antithesis of faith and ideology; he forgets that faith is obedience to the God who speaks to me personally, and not the deepest conviction of myself or my contemporaries; he forgets also that it is only in such obedience that man is free—free from the perfectionism of modern thought which does not like to leave gaps unfilled and questions unanswered, and which finds no one so inconvenient to deal with as the man who asks questions. The man who is a Christian may ask questions and have doubts, and he may know that in doing so he is far from having strayed from the protection of the God of grace and that he will always receive answers adequate to enable him to live in this world.

This living with God's "hourly wage" is certainly, even in the practice of our individual lives, something which we have to learn very slowly at first. What it implies in practice for an international church organization is something which we shall have to consider for the first time at Minneapolis in a great common discussion, and then we must apply it to our work. If in doing so we can again take as our starting point the experience of Hannover, 1952, then we may say that perhaps we should not expect any all-embracing answer to the great problem of Christian unity and freedom, nor any theological formula which would be satisfactory to everyone; but that we hope to receive as much of an answer as is necessary and good for the work of the Lutheran World Federation to be continued in real Christian unity and freedom.

Hans Bolewski



## EDITORIAL NOTES

With this number LUTHERAN WORLD would like to help in a very special way in the direct preparation for the conversations at Minneapolis. Hence the five main articles represent contributions to the five sub-themes of the Assembly. For this reason they appear in the order in which these themes are formulated. The article by Bishop József SZABÓ, of Balassagyarmat, Hungary, is a contribution to the first sub-theme, "The Freedom We Have in Christ", and that by Bishop Dr. Hanns LILJE is a contribution to the second theme, "The Unity of the Church in Christ". The article on the third sub-theme, "The Freedom to Reform the Church", comes from Dr. Wilhelm MAURER, professor of church history at Erlangen. Dr. Paul DAVID, Principal of the Gurukul Theological Seminary and Research Institute at Kilpauk, Madras (South India), writes on the fourth theme, "Free for Service in the World", while the theme "Free and United in Hope" is presented by Professor Harold DITMANSON, of St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota.

Contributors of reports from the ecumenical world are Dr. Fridtjov BIRKELI, Director of the Department of World Mission of the Lutheran World Federation; the Rev. Mogens ZEUTHEN, Secretary for Minority Churches in Europe, of the LWF Department of World Service, Geneva; the Rev. Theodore A. HARTIG, of the Board of American Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America in New York, who was until recently Consultant in Inter-Church Aid for the LWF in Munich. The Symposium on migration is published with the cooperation of the LWF Department of World Service.

Reports from lands and churches come from Dr. Olov HARTMAN, Director of the Sigtuna Institute in Sweden; the Rev. K. L. STUMPF, Senior Representative of the LWF Department of World Service in Hong Kong; and Miss A. Jean OLSON, World Service Information Secretary, of the LWF Department of Information in Geneva.

Book reviews have been contributed by Professor John Reumann, of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia; the Rev. Mogens Zeuthen, Geneva; Professor Arno Lehmann, Halle; Dr. Horst Beintker, Greifswald; and Dr. Hans H. Weissgerber, Geneva.

In view of the coming Assembly, this issue of the magazine is appearing some weeks early. The third number of the current volume is to appear in December.

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*Assistant for the English Language Edition:*

Paul E. Hoffman,  
17 route de Malagnou, Geneva/Switzerland

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# LITERATURE SURVEY

A REVIEW OF RECENT THEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

PUBLISHED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THEOLOGY OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION

NO. 2

1957

## *Biblical Theology*

PRINCIPALITIES AND POWERS. *A Study in Pauline Theology.* By G. B. Caird. London: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, 1956. 101 pp. 15 s.

The author follows in the first three chapters the rise of three theological standpoints of Judaism and their influence on Paul's theology: 1. The political powers of the heathen world stand under the governance of special angels who are assigned to this task by God. 2. The Jewish law was also given through the medium of angels, by virtue of which it has its authority. 3. There are border areas in the world of natural phenomena which are not fully subject to God's power. Lying at the base of this is the view that Paul when speaking in mythological terms of kingdoms, angels, principalities and powers means spiritual realities with which he and his churches had to come to grips.

JESUS, GESTALT UND GESCHICHTE [*Jesus, Figure and History*]. By Ethelbert Stauffer. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1957. 172 pp. DM 2.00.

The author does not intend to present a biography of Jesus, in the style of the 19th century. His purpose is a "history of Jesus", and for this purpose the author draws primarily from extra-Christian sources: the Jewish heresy and law literature, rabbinical texts and apocalyptic literature. The author attempts an evaluation of these sources pragmatically and chronologically rather than psychologically or in the style of a novel. After an introduction to preliminary historical questions — sources, chronology and questions regarding the miracles, chapters follow on the origin and birth of Jesus, concerning

Jesus and the movement of John the Baptist, concerning Jesus' ministry in Galilee and the last winter in Judea. The concluding chapter deals with the passion and with the testimony of Jesus about himself. The volume is provided with extensive notes which are especially intended for the scholarly reader.

## *Church History*

HILFSBUCH ZUM LUTHERSTUDIUM [*Manual for the Study of Luther*]. By Kurt Aland, prepared in cooperation with Ernst Otto Reichert and Gerhard Jordan. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1957. 366 pp. DM 36.00.

This new aid for those engaged in Luther research is divided into three sections which correspond to one another. The fundamental and most extensive one is the alphabetical index of Martin Luther's writings, with reference to their location in the various Luther editions and special literature. Principal subject headings, subheadings and collective headings are catalogued so that remembering the approximate title makes its quick location possible. Through this system the user receives at the same time a kind of subject index to Luther's writings. The second section presents the key to the various Luther editions, giving the table of contents (and page number) of the individual volumes. By means of the main numbers of the individual titles, one is able, with the help of the first section, to locate immediately a given writing in other editions. The third section presents Luther's writings in chronological order. A detailed preface contains all necessary instructions for the user.

KONFIRMATIONEN I SVERIGE UNDER MEDELTID OCH REFORMATIONSTID [*Confirmation in Sweden in the Middle Ages and the Reformation*]. By Karl Gustav Andren. Lund: Gleerup Verlag, 1957. *Bibliotheca theologiae practicae*, Vol. 1. Sw. Kr. 17.50.

The emphasis of this study lies in a comparison between Roman Catholic sacramental confirmation in Sweden in the Middle Ages and the Reformation attitude toward this problem. The introduction deals with the way in which confirmation became detached from the act of baptism. This separation was facilitated by two factors: 1. the sacramental nature of confirmation; and 2. the linking of confirmation with the office of bishop. The author sees confirmation as rooted in the sacramental piety of the Middle Ages. He devotes a thoroughgoing investigation to the act of confirmation itself, and arrives at significant conclusions in the light of late medieval criticisms of confirmation, and the resulting proposals for reform. The Reformers found no biblical basis for the sacramental nature of confirmation, anointing, or attaching the act of confirmation to the bishop's office. Their interpretation of baptism did not allow the act of baptism to be given special completion through sacramental confirmation by a bishop. The new type of confirmation, as it developed in the Reformation period, had, in contrast, a strong catechetical stamp. Roman Catholic confirmation in Sweden ceased in 1540, and had no direct substitute. Later attempts, under Johann III, to reintroduce it, had no success.

AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE UND DIE ANFÄNGE DER ÖKUMENISCHEN BEWEGUNG [*August Hermann Francke and the Beginnings of the Ecumenical Movement*]. By Erich Beyreuther. Leipzig: Köhler und Amelung (VEB), 1957. 309 pp. DM 20.00.

The first ecumenical efforts grew out of the laymen's movement. Halle was one of the great centers of this revival. There was, however, only a "creative minority", which soon submitted to the Enlightenment. Beyreuther examines from this angle Halle Pietism and its ecumenical efforts. Francke is known, not only through his works of charity, but above all through his efforts to develop relationships with other churches

and Christians and finally through his sympathy for foreign missions. The study shows further how the impulses going out from Halle could not help but have their effect on the "world at large", that is, in the encounter with other confessions and on the mission field. In conclusion Beyreuther shows to what a large extent Lutheranism has contributed potentially to a genuine ecumenical movement.

DER AUTHENTISCHE LATEINISCHE TEXT DER CONFESSIO AUGUSTANA (1530) [*The authentic Latin Text of the Augsburg Confession (1530)*]. By Heinrich Bornkamm. Heidelberg: Carl Winter-Universitätsverlag, 1957. (*Reports of the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences, Philosophical and Historical Division.*) 23 pp. DM 7.50.

The original manuscripts of the most important Lutheran confessional writings are conclusively lost. The author, the editor of the Augsburg Confession in the new edition (1930, 2nd edition, 1952) of the Lutheran Confessions, examines the Latin manuscripts that come closest to the original and that are to be given preference over against the various Protestant and the first printed copies (including the printing included in the Book of Concord, 1580!). Through these comparisons, he succeeds in working out the original text which goes back to Melancthon's last formulation of it, and at the same time in showing that the Latin text, in comparison to the German text, though not the more authoritative, is nevertheless the more important.

DIE ENTSTEHUNG DES SCHMALKALDISCHEN BUNDES UND SEINER VERFASSUNG, 1529-1531/2 [*The Rise of the Schmalcaldic League and its Constitution 1529-1531/2*]. By Ekkehart Fabian. Tübingen: Osiander'sche Buchhandlung, 1956. *Publications on Church and Canonical History*, Part. I. 182 pp. DM 9.60.

The author confines himself to a description from the sources of the beginnings of the Schmalcaldic League, and in doing so, he lays special stress on legal and constitutional questions. The political constellation of the 20's made necessary political alliances among the protesting estates and the nobility; an alliance which was given impetus above all by Philipp of Hesse and the Saxon chancellor, Brück. A



first treaty was concluded in 1531 after long and difficult negotiations. Negotiations concerning the constitution of the League had to be temporarily broken off; the first constitution was accepted in 1533 in Schmalcald, from which the league of protesting princes and estates then took its name. This constitution was the result of a compromise among various drafts and fixed the competency and duties of this protective league. The book contains an extensive appendix in which the most important recorded sources concerning the history of the negotiations of the League are given, with a bibliography of the writings of the Saxon chancellor, Brück.

DR. GREGOR BRÜCK, 1557-1957. *Lebensbild und Schriftwechselverzeichnis des Reformationskanzlers Gregor Heinze-Brück zu seinem 400. Todestage* [Dr. Gregor Brück, 1557-1957. Life picture and catalogue of the correspondence of the Reformation chancellor, published on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of Gregor Heinze-Brück's death]. By Ekkehart Fabian. Tübingen: Osiander'sche Buchhandlung, 1957. 62 pp. DM 4.80.

In connection with his studies of the Schmalcaldic League, the author presents a life history of the Saxon chancellor who played a determining role not only in the negotiations concerning this league, but also in the Imperial Diet at Augsburg, at which the Protestants presented their confession. A thorough scholarly biography of Brück has not yet been written, and this volume has no intention of taking the place of such a work, or even of being such a work. The author sketches only a short life picture of the chancellor, now dead for 400 years. A catalogue of Brück's correspondence takes up the principal part of the book and represents a supplement to that which appears in the other book, mentioned above, by the same author. The author lists 1245 individual pieces and gives, as far as possible, the exact date and the place where each is now to be found (including exact card catalogue references!).

THE REVOLT OF MARTIN LUTHER. By Robert Herndon Fife. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957. 726 pp. \$ 9.75.

This massive biography of Luther, covering the years from his childhood until the Diet of Worms, deserves an honored place

alongside the recent well-received biographies of Bainton and Schwiebert. The author of *Young Luther* (1928), though not formally theologically trained, has culminated a life-long personal hobby of Luther research with an intellectual biography of Luther which reminds one of the tone and style of the Köstlin-Kawerau edition, integrating short synopses of almost all of Luther's writings in this period into the broad panorama of the rapidly-moving events of the day. Its primary interest is historical-biographical rather than theological, though Luther's thought is carefully treated as well.

FRÜHNEUHOCHDEUTSCHES GLOSSAR [A Glossary of early Modern High German]. By Alfred Götze. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 5th edition, 1956. xii and 240 pp. DM 9.80.

The differences between early Modern High German and the living language are enough to make it necessary to use "Götze" for a complete comprehension of the sources of Reformation history and the original texts of Luther's and Calvin's works. Since this book is not yet familiar in countries outside of Germany, and since an intense interest in Reformation history is commencing in America and England, with the publication and translation of Luther's writings, this will give much help as a dictionary for Luther and his contemporaries. (This is now revised and made available since the war in its fifth edition.) Even the most remote early Modern High German words are reproduced in their essential meaning in modern German.

ABRISS DER KIRCHENGESCHICHTE [An Outline of Church History]. By Karl Heussi. Weimar: H. Böhlau Verlag, 5th edition 1957. (With bibliographical guide and table of contents.) 204 pp. DM 8.70.

The noted Jena church historian gives, in his survey of the history of the Christian church from its beginnings to the present, a good general orientation, thoroughly revised since the 4th edition (1956). Heussi organizes his material, according to the usual divisions, into four main sections in which it is precisely the ordering of single events into intellectual and cultural principal and subsidiary streams, each dealt with in its own section or subsection, which presents Christianity in its development



and substance in clear outline. The author divides his material into thirty-eight paragraphs, and brings out in each one its relevance to its whole period of church history. For example: "Part II. The Catholic church as leader of the Germanic-Romance and the Byzantine-Slavic families of nations: Paragraph 13: Church Scholarship. Paragraph 14: Worship and Discipline." The subdivision of Part IV, "The Church in the Modern World", is determined by the "Period of the Victorious Rise of the Enlightenment" (until 1814). The book is intended for specialists and laymen.

PREDIKANS UPPGIFT. *En typologisk undersökning med särskild hänsyn till reformatorisk och pietistisk predikan* [The Task of Preaching. A typological investigation with special reference to the Reformation and the pietistic sermon]. By Henrik Ivarsson. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup förlag, 1956. 357 pp. Sw. Kr. 17.50.

This extensive study is an investigation in the history of preaching which in addition to the questions of the external form of the sermon (structure, style, etc.) is chiefly concerned with the systematic question of the task of preaching. This question is illuminated by reference to the Reformation sermon as represented by Luther and by reference to the pietistic sermon as represented by Anders Nohrborg and Henrik Schartau, the most important representatives of the history of Swedish preaching of the 18th century. The author touches also briefly the orthodox sermon, but only as a transitional stage from the Reformation to the pietistic sermon. The first part of the study touches upon the conclusions of Swedish Luther research and offers an analysis of the view of preaching held by Luther, for whom the sermon primarily has a function of absolution. Where the Gospel is preached, sins are forgiven, but just like the office of the keys, the sermon also has a binding function, since it is also the preaching of the law. The author touches upon the series of problems connected with law and Gospel at this point. A special section treats the theme "Sermon and Works". Here the author, in comparison to contemporary Luther research, offers a noteworthy new approach. For Luther the sermon not only had the function of absolution, but should also call for the doing of works. In contrast to this view of Luther's,

there is the view in pietism which is central, that the sermon is not so much absolution as communication of a message. Its task is to describe how one is converted. The sermon does not vouchsafe the forgiveness of sins, but has primarily a guiding and counseling function. It therefore follows that it is the first task of the preacher to describe correctly the marks by which one can recognize in which state of grace a man finds himself. Seen from this chief point of view, works and admonition also have their place. The result is a clear distinction from the Reformation understanding of the task of preaching. The study contains a summary in German.

CONSISTORIUM REGNI UND DIE FRAGE DER KIRCHENREGIMENT [Consistorium Regni and the Question of Church Government]. By Sven Lindegård. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1957. *Bibliotheca theologiae practicae* 5.

Consistorium regni is a form of church government as it was practiced in Sweden in the 16th and 17th centuries. It was a kind of college of bishops responsible directly to the king, which combined in itself and carried out all the functions of church government. Over against this there was the idea of a consistorium generale, a college of clergy (bishops) and laymen (high civil servants). The bishops opposed successfully the idea of a consistorium generale. There arose, however, especially after the introduction of a consistorium generale by Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstierna failed, constant disputes concerning the authority of the consistorium regni, and especially concerning its independence from secular jurisdiction. The consistorium regni was at the same time a court of justice which carried through all pending legal matters against the clergy (including matters of punishment) and was not placed under the secular supreme court. The question of competence was, however, never sufficiently cleared up. Finally the consistorium regni became an executive organ of the absolute monarch. It was placed under the supreme court in all legal matters and thus had no more independent functions or competence. In 1686 it was then finally dissolved.

EFTERFÖLJELSENS TEOLOGI HOS SØREN KIERKEGAARD [The Theology of



*Discipleship in Søren Kierkegaard*. By Valter Lindström. Stockholm: Diakonistytrelsens Bokförlag, 1956. 310 pp. Sw. Kr. 22.00.

The author, professor in the academy at Åbo (Turku), published his study of the (chronologically) first half of Kierkegaard's work, *Stages on Life's Way*, as early as 1943. In his new treatise he examines the theological development of Kierkegaard from his *Training in Christianity* up to his attack on Christendom. In abrupt contrast to his countryman, Torsten Bohlin, Lindström emphasizes, now as before, the unity of the basic theological concepts of Kierkegaard, and their fundamental agreement with biblical and Reformation intentions. However, he also sees that a change in emphasis took place during Kierkegaard's last years, so that the picture of God as Creator passed into the background and suffering became the real content of Christian discipleship. It seems as though the author attributes a greater role to this displacement or "shift" in Kierkegaard's development in this new book than in his earlier studies.

LUTHER-LEXIKON. *Ergänzungsband III von: Luther Deutsch. Die Werke Martin Luthers in neuer Auswahl für die Gegenwart* [Luther Lexicon. Supplementary volume III to: Luther in German. The works of Martin Luther in a new selection for the present day]. Edited by K. Aland. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1956. 472 pp. DM 9.80.

This Luther lexicon fills a great need, giving its sources, quite independently of *Luther Deutsch*, according to the Weimar edition. With its approximately 1700 quotations, which are arranged under some 800 headings, it will be used not only as an aid to scholarship, and as a reference work, but will be used also "for consecutive reading". It takes the place for the present—naturally only in a provisional way—of an index to the Weimar edition and leads to the study of Luther's theology, also with regard to special questions. The complete reproduction of longer passages under various headings (all in German) and the addition of references to quotations in other parts of the lexicon make it possible to gain a quick insight into Luther. A list of Luther's writings, according to the Weimar edition, helps to locate quotations in other Luther editions as well as in *Luther*

*Deutsch*. Luther's writings are quoted according to volume in the Weimar edition, and the page number is noted on which the quotation referred to in the Lexicon is located.

## Systematic Theology

FORKYNNELSE OG HISTORIE. *En studie i spørsmålet om Kristi realpresens* [Proclamation and History. A Study of the Question of the Real Presence of Christ]. By Tor Aukrust. Oslo: Forlaget Land og Kirke. 1956. 375 pp.

The concept "real presence" must be understood here in its broadest sense. The author, a young university scholar of systematic theology at the University of Oslo, is concerned here with the presence of the historical Christ in the preaching of the church. The basic questions stem out of the Bultmann debate. The whole discussion of historicity and history, eschatology, mythology, kerygma and preaching, in German, Swiss and Scandinavian theology, from Martin Kähler up to 1954, is clearly and thoroughly presented and analyzed. In contrast to the tendency to interpret Bultmann as a neo-rational apologist, the author emphasizes, in his presentation, the influence of theological themes (the righteousness of faith) on Bultmann's statement of the problems. However, these themes are mixed in their development with especially alien philosophical interests, so that justice is in no way done to the living Christ. In the New Testament assertion that Christ himself is our witness, the author sees a refutation of all philosophical a priors, including Bultmann's presentation of the problem of demythologization.

FOR FAITH AND FREEDOM. By Leonard Hodgson. New York: Scribners, 1957. 248 pp. \$ 4.00.

This latest series of Gifford Lectures was given by the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, perhaps the foremost Anglican theologian of today. This volume treats of "natural theology" and "general revelation" and is to be followed by a second addressed more specially to the revelation in Christ. The main contention is that the best explanation of the universe is in terms of a creator whose aim is the production of a



community of finite persons endowed with genuine freedom. Freedom is held to be at the center of the creative purpose. From this viewpoint, the problems of history, suffering, truth and evil are explored at length.

DEK HERR ÜBER ALLES. *Beiträge zum Universalismus der christlichen Botschaft* [The Lord over All. Contributions to the Universality of the Christian Message]. By Adolf Koerberle. Hamburg: Furcht-Verlag, 1957. 256 pp. DM 12.80.

Professor of Systematic Theology at Tübingen, the author brings together in this volume a series of essays and inquiries that have been published earlier in other places. He seeks, however, to offer not only the theological and scholarly, but also the practical and pastoral articles. He seeks to help theology to push forward out of the narrow concept of "inwardness" into the "larger sphere of the reality of the Lord". He wishes to help theology further by making usable the newly discovered fields of psychotherapy and of parapsychology, as auxiliary fields of knowledge, and to make their insights of use for the preaching ministry. The presentations are divided according to the following group themes: "Break through Finitude" (concerning the situation of modern man); "The Kingdom of the Soul" (psychology and theology); "The Magic Circle" (on the problem of superstition); "The Healing of Nature" (on the theme of the drawing together of nature and cosmos in theological thinking); "The Musical Life" (Christianity and art); and "Exercise in Christianity" (on different questions of church practice).

INSTITUTION UND EREIGNIS. *Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede der beiden Arten von Gottes Werken nach dem NT* [Institution and Event. Similarities and Differences of the two aspects of God's work, according to the New Testament]. By Jean-Louis Leuba. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1957. *Theologie der Ökumene*, Vol. 3. 144 pp. DM 10.50.

In three sections, using the example of Christ, the apostles and the early church, the author goes into the question of the relationship between institution and event—or, what corresponds very closely to this study—that of continuity in office and charismatic, pneumatic freedom. He main-

tains that both elements are grounded in the titles of Christ (Messiah, Son of David, kyrios, Son of Man) and in His work; in the unity in tension between Paul and the original apostles; and in the unity between Jewish and Gentile Christianity. Ever since then, the church, insofar as it does not want to give up its being bound to the canon, is charged with conserving this tension, without letting one element encroach on the other.

GLAUBE UND FREIHEIT. *Das theologische Problem der Religionskritik von Karl Jaspers* [Faith and Freedom. The Theological Problem of Karl Jaspers' Critique of Religion]. By Wenzel Lohff. Gütersloh: Carl Bertelsmann Verlag, 1957. *Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Monographien*, Vol. 58. 236 pp. DM 19.80.

In a detailed preliminary study, Jaspers' philosophy is presented in its principal features. Then an analysis of Jaspers' understanding of religion and theology is given. A critical examination of his basic philosophical starting point leads to a discussion of the question of the significance of the existence-dialectic, developed by Jaspers, for theology. In conclusion, the author underlines one result of the conversation between Jaspers and Protestant theology and hopes that this in itself will be a contribution to this conversation.

DIE RELIGIONSAUFFASSUNG WILLY HELLPACHS UND DIE THEOLOGIE FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHERS [Willy Hellpach's Interpretation of Religion and Friedrich Schleiermacher's Theology]. By Yrjö Luojola. Turku: 1956. *Annales Universitatis Turkuensis, Series B*, Vol. 61. 148 pp. 450.00 Finnish Marks.

Willy Hellpach (1877-1955), doctor, psychologist of religion, and politician, developed his own religious system, following Schleiermacher. The Finnish author now traces the various threads of this system and comes to the conclusion that Hellpach's views were, to be sure, of a certain religious and above all ethical value, but that those elements of Schleiermacher are taken over which conflict with biblical truth. Thus the concept of revelation is dissolved and christology eliminated. The psychological needs of modern man are the only bases. Precisely the fact that Hellpach can appeal historically to many themes of Schleiermacher's theology puts, according to the author, this



theological approach into question, so that the study closes with a warning to present-day theology concerning Schleiermacher.

KONFESSIONSKUNDE. *Die christlichen Kirchen und Sekten heute* [Study of Comparative Doctrine. The Christian Churches and Sects Today]. By Hermann Mulert and Erdmann Schott. Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 3rd revised edition, 1956. Theologie im Abriß, Vol. V. 558 pp. DM 28.50.

The Halle theologian E. Schott has made the work of Mulert available again in a new edition, brought up to date according to the latest scholarship. After twenty years of scholarship (2nd edition 1937) it was necessary not only to broaden the bibliographical material but to make additions and corrections. Certain eliminations were also possible. The work is oriented toward a presentation of the history and purpose of a comparative study of churches and sects, going into the confessions of the ancient church, into eastern Christianity (Konrad Onasch collaborated here as special expert), into Roman Catholicism, into the Anglican church and into Protestantism in general. An index and a detailed survey of the contents aid the student in using this standard work.

SACRA DOCTRINA. *En studie till förhållandet mellan ratio och revelatio i Thomas' av Aquino teologi* [An examination of the relationship between reason and revelation in the theology of Thomas Aquinas]. By Per Erik Persson. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup Verlag, 1957. *Studia theologica lundensia*, No. 15. Sw. Kr. 17.50.

A work is presented here which is of great importance for the history of thought and controversial theology. While Neothomist literature occupies itself primarily with Aquinas' presuppositions, Persson examines primarily his theology. He comes by this way to the remarkable conclusion that Aquinas first of all wants to expound the content of the biblical message. He defends thereby the thesis that there exists a clear difference between Aquinas and post-Tridentine theology in the question "scripture and tradition". Luther, not the Counter-Reformation, had Aquinas and really medieval theology as a whole, on his side. The adherence of the Reformers to "sola scriptura" does not represent the sudden appearance of a break with the whole of theological tradition, or a radical novelty

introduced into the church, but far more the attempt to present in a new way something which was already generally recognized as an evident and valid rule. The author shows further how the Greek and biblical elements of thought conflict with each other in the writings of Aquinas, and in his theology generally. According to Persson, it is impossible to divide "ratio" (reason) and "revelatio" (revelation) schematically into two areas within Aquinas' theology. The author shows, piece by piece, the way in which elements from the Greek and biblical worlds of thought interact. Revelation is a definite factor already in the so-called natural theology of Aquinas. This is expressed most clearly in the "Metaphysics of Existence", which forms the center of his view. At the same time, however, rational thought, which exists independently of revelation, is also a determinative factor. This is expressed, for example, in his talks on the Trinity or the incarnation.

GOTTES GEBOT BEI MARTIN LUTHER [God's Commandment according to Martin Luther]. By Aarne Siirala. Helsinki: Luther-Agricola Society, 1956 (for abroad, Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk). 364 pp.

In this study all the traditional formulations, such as the question of faith and works, or law and Gospel, are discarded. The author seeks to bring out the question as formulated by Luther himself. It becomes clear that God's commandment is the same as God's Word, that is, God's revelation. At the same time, the author shows that God's commandment does not seek to be the basis of a new kind of theology, but of a new relationship to God, of creative faith. God's commandment never means something that man with his reason can organize into a system. This anti-intellectualistic position of Luther's means then, that the Word and commandment represent no isolated entities that man can comprehend with his thought categories. God's command gives no possibility of recognizing the good and the true. Commandment presents then no basis whatever for any kind of idealism or ideology. No way of life or ways of worship can fulfill the commandment in any way, for only faith can do it. Faith, however, is always a narrow way for man, for it is never a human possibility. Faith is God's gift, God's deed in



man, never a condition. Faith leads man beyond his own accomplishment and capability.

THE DYNAMICS OF FAITH. By Pauli Tillich. New York: Harpers, 1957. 160 pp. \$ 2.75.

One of the most germinal thinkers of our day explains faith as "the central phenomenon in man's personal life". Stripping away distorted interpretations, Tillich conceives faith as "the state of being ultimately concerned". It is "an act of personality in its totality", rather than being merely a belief or a feeling. Doubt is not incompatible with faith but a consequence of the risk which faith involves. How this "ultimate concern" gives depth, direction and unity to all other concerns is developed in a closely knit sequence of thought.

## Practical Theology

DIE SELBSTÄNDIGKEIT DER JUNGEN KIRCHEN ALS MISSIONARISCHES PROBLEM [*The Autonomy of the Younger Churches as a Missionary Problem*]. By Peter Beyerhaus. Wuppertal-Barmen: Verlag der Rhein. Missionsgesellschaft, 1957. *Studia Missionalis Upsaliensis*: 1.

The younger churches which have grown up in Asia, Africa and Indonesia stand today in the center of the study of missions. P. Beyerhaus, a German pastor, who is at present a missionary in South Africa, and who studied a number of years in Uppsala under Professor Sundkler, raises the question of the autonomy of the younger churches from the theological standpoint. The inquiry is historical as well as systematically theological, and consists of three parts. In the first part, the author handles the problem of autonomy, its conception in principle and its answer in the Anglo-Saxon world and in Germany. In the second section he depicts the practical solution in three of the younger churches: in the Anglican church in Nigeria, which installed the first African bishop; the Lutheran Batak church in Sumatra, which under German leadership became in a special way indigenous and strong; and the Presbyterian church in Korea, an active, witnessing and self-propagating church. The third section pursues the question of what can be said

concerning the problem of autonomy and its solution from the Bible and the present-day theology of missions. The author refers here to points in Sundkler's thinking, that basically a church cannot be autonomous or independent, but "christonomous", determined by Christ, that "autonomy", correctly understood, is never an end product in a church, but that it belongs to the nature of the church and exists in it from the beginning. Autonomy—or better, "christonomy"—is no final result, but the point of departure.

STILLE VECKA I GUDSTJÄNST OCH FROMHETSLIV [*Holy Week in Worship and Piety*]. By Ulf Björkman. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1957. 388 pp. Sw. Kr. 20.00.

The author, lecturer in Practical Theology at the University of Lund, treats the rise of the liturgy of Holy Week from the early church until the late Middle Ages, and gives a short survey of Holy Week in Sweden after the Reformation. In contrast to the usual manner of dealing with liturgical history, the author does not limit himself to a description of the treatment of the different parts of the service, but relates the liturgy of Holy Week to the great development of theology and the history of piety. The early church view of the death and resurrection of Christ as belonging to the one redemptive event is in contrast to the one-sided emphasis on the suffering and death of Christ which can be observed in the late Middle Ages. The author shows that this corresponds exactly to the development in the liturgy of Holy Week. A detailed summary in German is included.

LABOR, INDUSTRY AND THE CHURCH. By John Daniel. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1957. 229 pp. \$ 3.00.

A penetrating presentation of the Lutheran ethic of work in view of Catholic and Calvinist interpretations is followed by a part dealing with Max Weber and the communist teaching on the state, in a section concerning state and economic forms. After a development of biblical statements concerning work, the author turns to the practical questions of property, wages, income and leisure time. Two chapters are devoted to trade unions and labor organizations, and the final chapter is devoted to the solution of the problem: work, industry and the church.



HERR, TUE MEINE LIPPEN AUF. *Eine Predigthilfe. [Lord, Open Thou My Lips. An Aid to Preaching].* By Georg Eichholz. Wuppertal-Barmen: Emil Müller Verlag, 2nd edition, 1957. Vol. 3, *The New Gospels*. 495 pp. DM 18.60.

Eichholz' aids to preaching, which are to be understood as the "bond between exegesis and sermon", originally grew out of a circle of young theologians who belonged to the Confessing Church. The first two volumes, on the ancient pericopes, were able to be published before the war. The third volume, whose first edition appeared in 1947 and which has been out of print for a long time, is now available in a new revision. Thorough aid is presented regarding each pericope of the new series, offering important ideas on exegesis, referring to expositions of the Fathers, and leading the preacher to make the transition to the sermon himself. The place of the pericope in the church year is often, although not always, taken into account and considered. The theologians collaborating in this work range from Peter Brunner and Edmund Schlink to Wilhelm Niesel. The texts are ordered according to the church year. The numbering after Trinity is strictly maintained; the so-called smaller feasts (St. John and St. Michael) and the propers for the last Sundays of the church year are lacking.

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR. By Edward T. Horn. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957. 243 pp. \$ 3.75.

Primarily a history of the church calendar, the material covers how the Christian year developed, and how the three Western liturgical churches—Lutheran, Anglican and Roman—carry on the liturgical tradition of the primitive church. The subject matter includes an investigation of the ancient sources and texts of the sacramentarium and the calendar; a study of the church year in relation to the worship service; liturgical colors, saints' days, and other minor festivals.

CHRIST AND YOUR JOB. By Alfred P. Klausler. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956. 145 pp. \$ 1.50.

The author, Executive Secretary of the Walther League, the youth organization of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, deals in this book with the relation of Christians to vocation. Starting from a clear analysis

of the present spiritual situation of America, the author develops a broad presentation of what vocation and work mean on the basis of biblical statements. After dealing with the conflict between secular vocations and the Christian faith, the author presents his concept of Christian vocation as a "call to witness". Out of this grows the necessity of the life devoted to the service of God, in which the Christian beside his testifying of God, expresses also his love to God. A special chapter is devoted to the relation of the Christian to money. After a discussion of the racial problem, the author seeks, in the final chapter, to give an order for the daily life of the Christian.

WASSER, BROT UND WEIN. *Geistliche Betrachtungen über die Welt der Dinge im Umkreis des göttlichen Wortes [Water, Bread and Wine. Spiritual Reflections on the Material World in the Context of the Divine Word].* By Wolfgang Schanze, with drawings by Christen Rietschel. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1956. 124 pp. DM 4.00.

In twenty-four meditations on those perishable things which are used in God's service, the author seeks to show the reality of the presence of God in elements. The first group devotes itself to water, bread, wine, stone, wood, gold, metal, linen, flame, light, color, sound. The second group: house, choir, altar, pulpit, portals, steps, chalice, font, window, picture, clothing, book, places "material in liturgical form" before one's eyes. The short meditations, often starting from worldly externals (dress as cover and decoration) lead through the Bible to liturgical meditations, bringing the congregation near to the "spiritual word" through visible things. The accompanying symbolic sketches help the meditative reception of the written word.

SERMONIC STUDIES: *The Standard Epistles. Volume I, from the first Sunday in Advent to Trinity Sunday.* St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1957. 397 pp. \$ 5.00.

This volume includes 35 sermonic studies on the epistles from the first Sunday in Advent to Trinity Sunday. Each single sermon study is prefaced by an examination of the text. In this way grammatical, historical and exegetical discussions are arranged, the context considered and the

scope of the individual texts worked out. Often detailed conceptual analyses are presented in regard to many concepts and terms. The majority of the sermon studies close with one or more sermon outlines. Usually, however, the outline of the sermon is clearly contained in the sermon preparation. In some the sermon itself is drafted. These sermon studies will be useful to pastor and to layman alike because of their references to the present situation of spiritual and religious life, particularly in regard to the state of the congregation.

**DAS WORT GOTTES UND DIE ANTWORT DER GEMEINDE** [*The Word of God and the Response of the Congregation*]. By Walter Tappolet. Kassel: Johannes Stauda Verlag, 1956. 64 pp. DM 5.00.

In this book, a pastor from a Reformed church with a Zwinglian tradition seeks to establish a broad foundation for liturgical action in the church service. In addition to a biblical examination which emphasizes the unity of the heavenly and the earthly liturgies, the author brings proof that Zwingli can be blamed for the rejection of liturgy much less than is commonly thought. In contrast, only the regaining of a genuine and biblical liturgy will make the lively participation of the congregation in worship possible. Only in this way does one have a true relationship with God. "The active speaking of God, and the obedient response of the congregation": this basic law of all life demands the renewal of theology also in the Reformed church.

**DER HELLE MORGENSTERN.** *Homiletische Auslegung alttestamentlicher Texte* [*The Bright Star of Morning. Homiletical Exegesis of Old Testament Texts*]. By Gottfried Voigt. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1956. 316 pp. with index and bibliography. DM 12.80.

The author, Director of the *Predigerseminar* at Lückendorf, seeks, in his way, to continue the sermons of his teacher and predecessor in office, Martin Doerne. In the selection of texts for the whole church year, the Old Testament texts are drawn from series 5 of the Lutheran church in Germany's proposal for a new series of pericopes. Voigt's method of theological exegesis of the Old Testament is significant, because he goes between two existing extremes of Old Testament exegesis. He does

not agree with Baumgärtel's "challenging thesis that the religion of the Old Testament is for us a foreign and alien religion", nor with Karl Barth's thesis that "Moses and the prophets do not belong, as the representatives of an older religion, *before*, but as the far-seeing heralds of Jesus Christ, *at the side* of evangelists and apostles". The author holds to the unity of the scriptures against Baumgärtel, and to the preparatory nature, the "genuine progress" of the Old Testament against Barth: "undoubtedly one cannot place Moses and the prophets *beside* the evangelists and apostles. They longed to see, but in fact they did *not* see (Matt. 13:17)." Certain literary-critical and exegetical discussions are placed before the meditations on the various texts. In every case the original text is made alive in the meditation, not in order to spare the preacher his own work, but in order to "get him going".

## Translations

**THE DOCTRINE OF RECONCILIATION, Vol. IV, Pt. I of CHURCH DOGMATICS.** By Karl Barth. New York: Scribners, 1957. 779 pp. \$ 12.50

**A SCHOLASTIC MISCELLANY: ANSELM TO OCKAM.** Vol. X of the "Library of Christian Classics". Edited by Eugene R. Fairweather. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1957. 416 pp. \$ 5.00.

**FAITH AND PERSEVERENCE.** By G. C. Berkouwer. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957. 336 pp. \$ 4.00.

**LIVING GOD.** By Romano Guardini. New York: Pantheon, 1957. 128 pp. \$ 2.75.

**SILENCE OF ST. THOMAS.** By Josef Pieper. New York: Pantheon, 1957. 128 pp. \$ 2.75.

**FAITH AND CERTAINTY.** By C. Skovgaard-Petersen. Rock Island: Augustana, 1957. 64 pp. \$ 1.00.

**THE BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF JUSTICE AND LAW.** By Heinz-Horst Schrey and others. Naperville: Allenson, 1957. \$ 1.75.

**THE DEAD SEA SCRIPTURES IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION.** Introduction and Notes by Theodore H. Gaster. New



York: Doubleday Anchor (paper cover), 1956. 350 pp. \$ 0.95.

THE VIRGIN MARY. By Giovanni Miegge. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1956. 191 pp. \$ 3.50.

THE CHRISTIAN ETHOS. By Werner Elert. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1957. 441 pp. \$ 6.00.

LUTHER ON VOCATION. By Gustav Wingren. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1957. 256 pp. \$ 3.50.

## *A Survey of Periodical Literature*

KERYGMA UND DOGMA. *Journal of Theological Research and Church Doctrine.* Editorial Board: Gerhard Gloege, Regin Prenter, Edmund Schlink. Editor: Wilfried Joest. Publishers: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Göttingen. 4 issues, DM 9.80 (single copies, DM 3.00).

### *No. 1, 1956*

"Die Bedeutung des Leidens für das Christusbild Søren Kierkegaards" [The Significance of Suffering for S. Kierkegaard's picture of Christ], S. Hansen.

The author examines in this article the picture of Christ and discipleship in Kierkegaard as he sees it in the light of his own suffering. The meaning of suffering is dying to the world. Discipleship is the dominant idea in his christology. Justice is not done to the church over against the concept of the individual's bond with Christ.

"Die Weisheit Gottes im russischen Glauben und Denken" [The Wisdom of God in Russian Faith and Thought], L. Zander.

This article deals with related concepts, not only in theology, but also in representational art (ikons) and in literature. The concept of wisdom, which explodes every theological system, finds its supreme expression in the ikons and in Russian religious philosophy. "The wisdom of God shines over this sinful and yet hallowed earth." (Bulkagow).

"Die ältere Weisheit Israels" [The Older Wisdom of Israel], Gerhard von Rad.

Here the author examines a portion of the Old Testament wisdom literature. Wisdom is "practical knowledge, rooted in experience, of the laws of life and of the world". Von Rad examines individual wisdom texts and comes to the conclusion that even in the Old Testament wisdom embraces the whole of life, and is not to be ascribed to a particular theological school. Wisdom is the culture of man, the beginning of which lies in the knowledge of God. Wisdom is theologized only at a later stage of development.

### *No. 2, 1956*

"Gesetz und Evangelium" [Law and Gospel], Heinrich Vogel.

This is a series of theses based on the definition (38): "The Law is the word of God that demands; the Gospel is the word of God that gives".

"Das geistliche Kirchenrecht" [Canon Law], Franz Lau.

This is a critical question directed at Johannes Heckel ("Lex caritatis"), an examination in which it is demonstrated that through the appropriation of certain significant concepts and certain preconceptions, the theology of Bultmann is influenced by Heidegger. (G. W. Ittel: *Der Einfluß der Philosophie M. Heideggers auf die Theologie R. Bultmanns* [The Influence of M. Heidegger's Philosophy on the Theology of R. Bultmann]).

"Zur Frage der Verkündigung an den modernen Menschen" [The Question of Preaching the Gospel to Modern Man], G. Stammer.

This is a series of 46 theses (as a preliminary declaration), dealing primarily with the "essence of modern man" and in conclusion saying "something about the possibility of preaching the Gospel".

"Der Reich-Gottes-Begriff in der Theologie Richard Rothes und Albrecht Ritschls" [The Concept of the Kingdom of God in the Theology of Richard Rothe and Albrecht Ritschl], Christian Walther.

For Rothe, the idea of the kingdom of God is the foundation of his ethic. The kingdom of God is realized in the world through man in his ethical behavior. He sees the whole as part of a development, at the end of which stands the Christianization of the world, and which is guaranteed only through salvation. The church is a transitional stage on the way to the kingdom of God. The kingdom of God is for Ritschl

also the absolute "ultimate purpose of the world", as a purely spiritual community, which is part of the task of mankind. The idea of the kingdom of God is realized in a historical process, to whose laws even the incarnation of Christ and his work are subject.

"Zum Problem der Sprache" [On the Problem of Language], *Georg Müller*.

The author carries on a discussion with Rosenstock-Huussy, in which he is concerned with historical, psychological and also theological problems and instances.

No. 3, 1956

"Schrift und Tradition" [Scripture and Tradition], *K. E. Skydsgaard*.

This article, starting from the customary alternative, overcomes the old formulation of the question, and seeks to come to a new, positive appreciation of tradition. Tradition is simply the church's activity as such, when it passes on that which it has received from the Lord.

"Der Gebrauch des Begriffs 'ökumenisch' im älteren Luthertum" [The Use of the Concept "Ecumenical" in Older Lutheranism], *Ernst Kinder*.

The author examines the meaning that the word "ecumenical" has in the language of Lutheran theology, and distinguishes a technical-formal concept (in the Catholic sense) and a fundamental concept (referring to the factual unity of the church). He shows, moreover, how and on what grounds the so-called "ecumenical" symbols of the ancient church were admitted in Lutheranism.

"Christus und die Kirche" [Christ and the Church], *Edmund Schlink*.

In twelve theses the author develops a short comprehensive doctrine of the church.

"Philologia crucis", *Walther Leibrecht*.

This article is devoted to a special problem, the thought of Hamann concerning the language of God. The author shows here how Hamann understood God's speaking to sinful mankind, and how man, in the spheres of reason and of faith, should conduct himself in relation to this word of God.

No. 4, 1956

"Die Prädestinationslehre Karl Barths" [Karl Barth's Doctrine of Predestination], *Gerhard Gloege*.

In this continuation of an earlier article, Gerhard Gloege establishes the point that a certain change has taken place in Barth's point of view, in the course of his theological development. The christological presuppositions, however, are decisive in his case.

"Gerechtigkeit und Gnade" [Righteousness and Grace], *Edmund Schlink*.

Under this title the author analyzes the legal and theological interpretations of these concepts, in their genuine differences from one another, and their agreement or contradiction with one another. Schlink discusses especially the concept of justice in Barth and Ellul, but also the consequences that result for law, from the Lutheran teaching of the two kingdoms.

"Das System der funktionalen Gesellschaft und die Theologie" [Theology and the System of Functional Society], *Heinz-Dietrich Wendland*.

The author starts from the point that a "theology of society" ought to be developed in the light of modern changes in the structure of society, in which account would have to be taken above all of the changed social-ethical categories. That is, a theological basis would have to be established for the church's attitude, in view of its task and of the commandment of love, over against the society of today, which is *functional*, because it defines men according to their functions.

"Selbstbewußtsein und Selbstverständnis als theologische Prinzipien bei Schleiermacher und Bultmann" [Self-Consciousness and Self-Understanding as Theological Principles in Schleiermacher and Bultmann], *Paul Löffler*.

Although Löffler does not try to derive Bultmann's theology from Schleiermacher, he comes to the conclusion that in Schleiermacher as in Bultmann, faith is bound to experience, and God's work is bound to human existence. Both originate in idealistic thinking insofar as the encounter with "God" is confined to self-consciousness or self-understanding.

KYRKOISTORISK ÅRSSKRIFT [Yearbook of Church History]. Editor: *Sven Göransson*. 56th year of publication, 1956. Publishers: *Almqvist and Wiksell, Uppsala and Stockholm*. 332 pp. Sw. Kr. 18.00 (Members, Sw. Kr. 12.00).



This yearbook, now in its 56th year, has two main sections. The one is devoted to scholarly articles. When these are written in Swedish, they are provided with a short summary in German or English. The other main section is devoted to reviews. We give here a survey of the articles in the first section.

"The Peaceful Period of the Catholic Mission in Latvia, up to 1196", *Harald Biezais*.

This mission is closely connected with the commercial relations between the Latvians and the Germans, and the author attempts, against this historical background, to bring out new aspects.

"Two Sources from the Section on Penitence in Laurentius of Vaxala's Summula", *Bengt Ingmar Kilström*.

The texts are Latin poems, "Peniteas cito peccator" and "Inobediencia". They confirm the close relationship to the central areas of the Western church.

"The Birgitta-officium of Archbishop Birger Gregerssöns", *Carl-Gustaf Undhagen*.

The author has found the complete Birgitta-officium in several manuscripts, and has illuminated some interesting problems.

"A Historical Birgitta Commentary from the Period of Queen Margareta" (d. 1412), *Lars-Arne Norborg*.

Various questions are handled in reference to the author and the period in which the commentary originated. But in Norborg's opinion it is not possible to obtain certain knowledge in these questions.

"The Means of Grace in the Pictorial Art of the Reformation", *Carl-Martin Edsman*.

The author brings out that the pictures originally reflected the living church service, but that they lose this association when they are frequently reprinted or copied. The wood cuts of the 16th century Swedish church books, most of which originated in Germany, cannot therefore be used without further question as a source of Swedish liturgical practice.

"The Problem of Uniformity in the German Congregation in Stockholm", *David Lindquist*.

The liturgical situation in this parish became especially important because of Stockholm's position as national capital.

"The Influence of the Scottish Free Church on Swedish Church Life in the 19th Century", *Nils Rodén*.

"Baptism and Ministry in the Controversy on Baptism in Sweden around 1890", *Ragnar Holte*.

This article deals with the question of lay baptism and its sacramental validity.

THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY. Editor: *Theodore G. Tappert, Philadelphia*. Vol. VIII, 1956. 4 issues, \$ 2.75, single copies \$ 0.75.

No. 1, February

"The Office of Overseer in the Church", *Richard R. Caemmerer*.

The basic structure of the church of the New Testament and the Lutheran Confessions is not that of a political organization or hierarchy but it is the "body of Christians mutually associated to maintain the life of Christ in one another" by means of Word and sacrament. The duty then of the pastor is to watch over and foster this commonly shared service of love and edification, to feed the sheep rather than lead them.

"Is the Coexistence of the Old and New Man Biblical?", *Roy A. Harrisville*.

Modern scholastic orthodoxy has fallen into the pietistic error of regarding the "old" and "new" man of the Pauline Epistles to be coexistent natures in man which exist in tension. The conflict with temptation in which the Christian still finds himself is not a tension between the "old" and the "new" man but between the "outer" and the "inner" man (II Cor. 4:16). The "outer man" is the *totus homo* when he succumbs to the mortality and temptation of the world. The "inner man" is the *totus homo* when he is dominated by the Spirit of God.

"Professionalism and the Christian Faith", *Herbert Stroup*.

Professionalism today represents a promise and a threat. On the one hand it promises a high order of services and benefits to the community; on the other hand it threatens to depersonalize and mechanize man. To counteract this threat the church must strive to renew a sense of vocation whereby the professional may know and follow God's plan by which he has elected men to a life of integrity and service within a community which cooperatively seeks the fulfillment of God's will and purpose for human life.

"Justification and the Discipline of Liturgics", William Nagel. Translated from *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, September 1954.

The critical and dynamic principle of Lutheran liturgics will be the doctrine of justification. A liturgical form must be provided which is edifying for the congregation and capable of drawing outsiders to the Gospel. Though our work on the Lutheran liturgy can never be considered finished, liturgical work on the foundation of *sola fide* has one absolute—the means of grace.

"For You" and "For Many", Olof H. Nelson.

The phrases uttered by Jesus "for you" and "for many" when he instituted the Lord's Supper have been misinterpreted by the Lutheran Reformers. The body and blood of Christ are not present in the sacramental elements, for we have "communion" not with flesh and blood but with Christ in person as his presence is experienced in faith in the communion service according to his promise of "where two or three are gathered together in my name . . ."

No. 2, May

"Human Suffering and God's Sovereignty", Urpo Harva.

The problem of suffering is indeed difficult to faith. However, there is in our being that which compels us to combat suffering in an effort to overcome and destroy it, and faith tells us that there is an "all power" entirely different from us, Almighty God, who is sovereign over and free from the law of suffering, who bears our suffering, and who indeed is also free from the law of goodness, permitting us to bear suffering.

"Work and the Christian Calling", George W. Forell.

The Christian understanding of work is the knowledge that it is neither "an evil, at best a necessary evil"—nor is it "the activity which of itself gives life meaning and zest, our purpose in life"—but rather it is a means given us by God to serve him and our neighbor as faith shows itself active in love.

"God's Lonely Men", Earl T. Knaus, Jr.

The figure of Job has influenced many generations of writers. Through the eyes of four authors of English and American literature, Thomas Wolfe, Thomas Hardy, Herman Melville and Alan Paton, the tragedy of the lonely man is unfolded for what it is,

fear, dread, terror, whose only balm is the hope of divine love and pardon.

"What Does a Sacrament Proffer?", George Aus.

The answer, "a sacrament proffers the grace of God", signifies that a sacrament is a means chosen by the risen and exalted Christ to be present with his church between the ascension and *parousia* in order to carry on his redemptive work and to enlist the participation of his church. It is truly "grace", for it is given to sinful and totally undeserving man.

"The Divine Service as Witness and Confession", Martin J. Heineken.

In the divine service man empties himself before God, allowing himself to be served by God in Word and sacrament to the drowning of the proud old Adam and the rising of the new man whose offerings of thanks, prayer and praise, indeed of his whole self, find perfect expression in service to his neighbor, as the gracious God experienced in the service goes with him into his daily vocation.

No. 3, August

"The Place of the Sermon in Public Worship", Henry H. Bagger.

"The greatest force militating against the place of the sermon" and accounting largely for the present-day decline in sermon interest is the liturgical movement. It stresses the primacy and frequency of the sacrament to the neglect of the sermon. Pulpit and altar, preaching and sacrament are placed over against each other. A truly "sacramental" understanding of worship recognizes that the Word is primary to the sacrament, making a sacrament of the element, and that the declaring of the Gospel is an essential preliminary to the understanding and appropriation of the sacrament.

"Roman Catholic Magisterium and the Analogy of Being", Niels C. Nielsen.

The analogy of being of Roman doctrine and practice assumes a common basis in being, despite the differences, between God and man, making possible a knowledge of God apart from faith. Karl Barth's rejection of the analogy of being comprises his fundamental criticism of Roman Catholicism and grew out of his discussions with the German Jesuit, Erich Przywara. Przywara maintains that the visible church exemplifies the analogy of being as she



speaks for God through her immanent teachers—the magisterium, i. e. the apostles and their successors (the hierarchy) through the ages.

*"John Staupitz on God's Gracious Love", John Joseph Stoudt.*

The author introduces a translation of the tract "On God's Gracious Love" by John Staupitz. Its emphasis upon infinite trust in Jesus influenced Luther in his decision to post the ninety-five theses, while its lessons upon the priority of God's love are traced in Luther's Small Catechism.

*"Heresy and the Lutheran Church", Robert Paul Roth.*

The Lutheran church in America has experienced in the case of the Reverend George Crist, judged guilty by the Northwest Synod of the United Lutheran Church of "deviation" from the confessions of the church, a recurrence of the age-old major Christian heresy of gnosticism. Mr. Crist rejects the incarnation and atonement for an adoptionistic view of Jesus as the natural-born son of Mary and Joseph, whose sonship consists in his life of perfect obedience to the Spirit of God, who did not die for the sins of the world but only because his chosen course necessitated a tragic end, and who was not resurrected.

*"Faith and Facts", Martin J. Heineken.*

Different from the facts of mathematics which are accepted as certainty, and common-sense "facts", are the "saving facts" of God's self-revelation culminating in the incarnation. These are only perceived through the eyes of one who has encountered God in repentance and faith, which alone enables man to discern the saving fact that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself".

No. 4, November

*"This is the Preacher's Hour", Alvin N. Rogness.*

A sense of world crisis has superseded the former happy mood of progress, and man, seeing the proud house of his technical knowledge trembling and shaking on its foundations has "turned in upon himself", seeking insight into the basis and meaning of his very existence. Church pews on Sunday are being filled by people drawn by "the vague and wistful hope that they may hear a Word from God". This then is the preacher's hour, for he has that Word to give through which man encounters the liv-

ing God who is Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier.

*"The Awakening of Political Responsibility Among German Protestants", Rodney Hokenson.*

A significant phenomenon in post-war Germany has been the extremely responsible role played by the churches in the social and political spheres. The mutual associations of all parties during the hard years under Nazi oppression created a new spirit of understanding and a desire to cooperate which has witnessed since the war in the west German "Federal Republic" political reconstruction with a new respect for the church.

*"Patriotic Activity of Calvinistic and Lutheran Clergymen during the American Revolution", Dagobert de Levie.*

This article investigates the degree of political activity of the clergy during the American War of Independence. The Loyalist side found political exponents in the pulpits of the Anglican and Methodist churches. The Revolutionary side was represented largely by the churches of the Calvinist tradition (Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Reformed—joined by the Baptists and some Anglicans). The Lutheran clergy generally were careful not to identify themselves with the political struggle and adhered to the traditional view inherited from Luther of separation between the office of the Word and the office of the sword, between church and state.

*"Lutherans and Non-Denominational Youth Movements", Leslie Conrad, Jr.*

The past twenty-five years have witnessed in the United States the springing up of many non-denominational youth movements, all having as their primary objective the evangelization of youth. Praiseworthy features are there, but objectionable features overshadow the commendable ones. These are disparagement of the sacraments and of the organized church, emphasis upon "spontaneous conversion".

POSITIONS LUTHERIENNES. A quarterly review, published in the name of a collaborating group by F. Gueutal, Th. Suess and R. Lovy. 4 issues, F. Fr. 600 (single copies F. Fr. 200). 4th year, 1956.

No. 1

*"La signification luthérienne de 'Credo'" [The Lutheran Meaning of "Credo"], K. E. Skydsgaard.*

The author explores in this article, partially in comparison with Thomas, how the words "I believe" should be understood in the introduction to the three articles of the Apostles' Creed in Luther and in Lutheran theology.

"Sectes anciennes et sectes modernes" [Ancient and Modern Sects], *André Bénéoit*.

A short presentation of the sectarian movements within church history, mainly within the ancient church, from which the author derives answers for the attitude to modern sects.

#### No. 2

"La théologie de Luther et un nouveau plagiat de Pierre d'Ailly" [Luther's Theology and a New Plagiarism of Pierre d'Ailly], *Louis Saint-Blancat*.

An investigation into the Occamistic sources and presuppositions of Luther's theology. Pierre d'Ailly, along with Occam and Biel, is one of the great representatives of nominalism. The author shows on the basis of thorough comparisons that d'Ailly extensively plagiarized Gregory of Rimini, who was an Augustinian theologian, and that the origin of Luther's theology is rather to be sought here. In addition the sources (the *Quaestiones des Aillyazensus*) are included, with an indication of the plagiarisms.

Detailed book reviews:

Max Thurian: *Marriage et célibat* [Marriage and Celibacy] (Th. Suess).

F.-J. Leenhardt: *Ceci est mon corps* [This is my Body] (R. Corray).

#### No. 3

This number is exclusively devoted to the problem of sanctification.

"Y a-t-il un fondement naturel de la vie chrétienne?" [Is there a Natural Foundation for the Christian Life?], *Th. Suess*.

In this thorough inquiry Suess offers primarily a critical statement of the Barthian comprehension of Law and Gospel.

"La sanctification de la vie dans l'industrie" [The Sanctification of Life in Industry], *Charles Hauter*.

The author examines the place and attitude of the Christian in industry.

#### No. 4

"La signification des textes de Qumrân pour l'étude des origines du Christianisme" [The Significance of the Qumrân texts for

the Study of the Origins of Christianity], *O. Cullmann*.

Cullmann refers here to the significance that the life and teaching of the Essenes had for primitive Christianity, for the Lord's Supper, baptism and sanctification. The investigation of early Christianity must concentrate much more strongly on the new-found texts, since these refute the thesis of an early hellenization of Christianity.

Two further contributions are reports from the Conference of Lutheran Minority Churches in April, 1956, in Semmering (Austria):

"L'Eglise et l'autre Evangile", celui d'un monde sécularisé" [The Church and the "other Gospel", that of a Secularized World], *C. W. Mönnich*.

The author deals with the task of the church in the modern world.

"Pourquoi encore l'Eglise Luthérienne?" [Why still have a Lutheran Church?], *Th. Suess*.

This article deals with the right of existence of the Lutheran church.

#### SCOTTISH JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY.

Editors: T. F. Torrance and J. K. S. Reid.  
Publishers: Oliver & Boyd, Ltd., Edinburgh and London. Volume 9, 1956. 4 issues, 21s., single copies 5s. 3d.

#### No. 1, March

"Prolegomena to a Christian Ethic", *John Macmurray*.

The writer in this discussion is concerned with certain valuations which seem to differentiate the teaching of the Gospels from other ethical attitudes. Without drawing firm conclusions, he presents certain observations necessary for the formulation of a Christian ethic.

"The Authority of the Bible", *J. R. Macphail*.

This article consists of a paper which was prepared for a Joint Theological Commission in South India under the convener-ship of Bishop L. Newbigin. It presents a brief survey of the history of the New Testament canon (with a word about the Old Testament). With this as background, it sets forth the relationship of the authorities (as the Bible) to the One Authority—Christ.

"Gnosis and Revelation in the Bible and in Contemporary Thought", *Alan Richardson*.



This study concentrates on the biblical conception of revelation and the problems involved in expressing it in modern thought. Prof. Richardson contends that the "problem of communication" in this scientific and technological age cannot be solved by demythologizing the Gospel and presenting it in the form of an abstract philosophical proposition or even in the form of an existentialist gnosis.

"Papias and the Four Gospels", *Rupert Annand*.

A new way of translating the fragment of Papias' Preface quoted by Eusebius is here offered for consideration. This translation, states the author, places Papias in a new light, especially in his relations to the Gospels. He dates Papias' Preface 80-90 A. D. (possibly before Matthew and Luke).

"Job (considered as a contribution to Hebrew Theology)", *Harold Knight*.

The writer does not take into account the data furnished by the narrative prose framework in which the poem of the book of Job is embedded, but instead, emphasizes the fundamental teaching of the poem itself. The poem, he contends, shows that the operation of divine providence must remain a mystery to man. It remains insoluble in the terms of a rational theodicy.

#### No. 2, June

"Swedish Theology since 1900", *Gustaf Wingren*.

This article presents a thoroughly enlightening survey of the Biblical and Systematic theological scene at the Universities of Uppsala and Lund. Though Wingren emphasizes the work of such men as Söderblom, Aulén and Nygren, he contributes to the discussion by including others less known on the international scene.

"The Meaning of Ordination", *John M. Barkley*.

The authors focuses much attention on the ordination of the Reformed church, but expands the discussion by including: church, ministry and ordination in the New Testament, ordination in the Fathers and the West, and ordination in the East.

"Ordo", *S. L. Greenslade*.

This paper was originally written at the request of those taking part in the "Conversations" between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland. It considers the Roman Catholic and the Anglican doctrines of Order.

"Cheirotonia and Ordination", *Brother George Every*.

This brief presentation deals with cheirotonia (laying on of hands) and ordination in both the East and the West, but primarily emphasizes the tradition of the East.

#### No. 3, September

"The Architecture of Karl Barth's Church Dogmatics", *John Godsey*.

The writer seeks to discover the basic dynamic principles involved in this Protestant "Summa" by examining its outer structure. After a few general observations, he conducts an investigation of each of the four main parts of Barth's *Dogmatics* (with anticipatory notes on the fifth).

"On the Anniversaries of Mozart, Kierkegaard and Barth", *Arthur C. Cochran*.

Both Kierkegaard and Barth have heaped immense praise upon Mozart. The writer considers the reasons why they accord Mozart such preeminence, and in doing so brings out the difference in their theological outlook.

"The Relevance of Biblical Justice to Industry", *George Goyder*.

The author focuses his attention on social obligations and ownership. He seeks to show that biblical justice needs reexamination in its relation to modern industry. As is stated, "God's laws are eternal, but their application is a never-ending task for the church" (p. 276).

"Considerations on the Definition of a Sacrament", *J. C. Campbell*.

This discussion revolves around a section contained in the Westminster Confession, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms (W. C. F., Chap. 27; L. C. Qq. 161, 162, 163; S. C. Qq. 91, 92). The writer considers whether some of the elements and emphases in this section were affected by the historical situation and the modes of thought of that time.

"The Reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah", *E. W. Todd*.

In Volume I of *The History of Israel*, Dr. T. H. Robinson points out that at the time of the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel, Judah remained loyal to Assyria, and "it is possible that some part of the more southerly hill country was handed over to Ahaz . . ." (p. 380). The Rev. Todd contends that this supposition throws light on the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah in the Old Testament.

"Scripture and Tradition", *Kristen E. Skydsgaard*.

Both Catholics and Protestants realize that the problem of tradition can no longer be posed in the same way as it was during the Reformation period. In pointing this out, Prof. Skydsgaard touches on the problem of tradition in its modern day setting. This article earlier appeared in *Kerygma und Dogma*, I, 3, July, 1956, and was translated from this German text.

"Faith and Truth", *H. Francis Davis*.

The author is concerned with the inner meaning of faith as an acceptance of the truth of the Word of God. He discusses the differences of emphasis among Protestants and Catholics as to the connotations of the word "faith" in the latter half of this presentation. He seeks to justify the Catholic tradition.

"Justification by Faith in Protestant Thought", *Gustaf F. Wingren*.

Luther, the founder of Protestant thought, expressly speaks of God's gradually driving out sin through struggle in man and exhorts man to praise and work. Yet he emphasizes that justification takes place through faith alone without any works. This is the problem with which the author deals.

"Luther and the Doctrine of the Church", *Gordon Rupp*.

Professor Rupp emphasizes that Luther's doctrine of the church may be found in his first course of lectures on the Psalms (1513-15). He then discusses the effect which later events had on this doctrine.

"Mark's Understanding of History", *James M. Robinson*.

The author contends that Mark is conscious of Christian history not simply as various saving actions, but also as a society with its traditions, customs and ethics, orientated to the eschatological action in history as its formative principle.

"Some Notes on the Old Testament Attitude to Prayer", *D. R. Ap-Thomas*.

This study aims to give some insight as to what "the Hebrew thought he was doing when he turned to God in prayer" (p. 422). The discussion is confined to the field of petition and intercession.

SVENSK TEOLOGISK KVARTALSKRIFT.  
Editorial board: G. Aulén, Y. Brilioth, R. Bring, H. Riesenfeld. Publishers: Gleerup, Lund, Year 1956.

"On the Question of Method in Theology", *Gustav Wingren and Anders Nygren*.

The magazine reproduces, with three essays from each side, the powerful debate carried on between Prof. Wingren and Bishop Nygren, following the publication of Wingren's book *Teologiens metodfråga*, in which, among other things, Nygren's "motif-research" was sharply attacked and repudiated (1954). In his introductory report on the public debate in Lund on February 7, 1956 ("Teologiens metodfråga", pp. 36-41) Wingren emphasizes that the matter at issue is the questionable right to elaborate theological material on the basis of questions which are put philosophically; Nygren's presentation of Marcion (in *Den kristna Kärlekstanken II*, 1936) demonstrates, so Wingren claims, how inadequate it is to speak of Agape as the "fundamental motif" of Christianity. The Nomos/Agape aspect, instead of the Eros/Agape aspect, should have been given broader application ("Nomos och agape hos biskop Nygren", pp. 122-132). Nygren answers these arguments with a commentary on his Marcion interpretation (*Ytteligare till teologiens metodfråga*, pp. 133-160): since Marcion not only repudiated "nomos" in the sense of legalism, nomism, nomos as a way of salvation, but also the Law as a whole, he renders agape empty and meaningless; for agape is after all essentially God's forgiving love, and therefore has its full New Testament meaning only in conjunction with the Law. Wingren ("Filosofi och teologi hos biskop Nygren", pp. 284-312) does not allow the distinction between "nomos" (as legalism) and "the Law". Nygren, however, protests against Wingren's repeated assertion that he is starting from a philosophical formulation of the question ("Slutreplik angående teologiens metodfråga") and complains at several points (already in the first article, "Teologiens metodfråga", pp. 20-35) concerning Wingren's misinterpretations.

"Orthodoxy and Pietism", *L. Haikola, B. Hägglund and H. Brattgård*.

This is a discussion on the relationship between Orthodoxy and Pietism, about their respective understanding of the Bible, about the "order of Grace" and other things besides, in connection with Hägglund's presentation of Joh. Gerhard and Brattgård's presentation of M. Fr. Roos.



"Om formeln 'trons verklighet' i teologisk teori", *Harald Eklund*.

Nothing would be lost for theological analysis by abolishing the ambiguous and therefore questionable combination of concepts, "reality of faith". It would rather imply a realistic adaptation to the real phenomenology of religion.

"Gamla testamentet i förkunnelsen", *Gillis Gerleman*.

Christ is seen in the full light of the Bible only when the choir of expectant, forward-looking witnesses of the Old Testament becomes audible beside the choir of backward-looking witnesses of the New Testament. The Gospel will be rightly understood only as the goal of Old Testament events which were directed by God.

"Ämbetet i nytestamentlig belysning", *Aimo Nikolainen*.

In the New Testament view, all Christians are "laymen" and all laymen "priests"; only certain of them are singled out in addition as "office-bearers" in the service of Christ.

"Bekännelsen som gåva och uppgift", *Walter Künneth*.

Correctly understood as a testimony to the revelation of the Trinity, the confession of faith leads the congregation into the realm of the power of the *Deus revelatus*; hence in the working of this power, it is possible in principle to come to new forms of confession in continuity with the confessions of the fathers.

"Vad innebär den fornkyrkliga bekännelsen till kyrkans helighet?", *Gunnar Hillerdal*.

"Sanctorum communio" in the confession of faith of the early church stands, not in apposition to, but as a separate article alongside of, "sanctam ecclesiam", and denotes participation in the basis of all holiness: Christ. But also the confession of the holiness of the church includes in itself a confession of the saving work of Christ.

"Den kristnes gärningar", *Axel Johansson*.

The good works and the sanctification of the Christian are rightly understood not as the basis of redemption, but as the consequence of it, as the creation of the Spirit, as the response to God's love.

TIDSSKRIFT FOR TEOLOGI OG KIRKE.  
Editorial board: Olof Moe, Andr. Seierstad,  
Joh. Smemo. 27th year of publication, 1956.

Publishers: Lutherstiftelsens Bokhandel, Oslo.

"Claritas Scripturae" i *De servo arbitrio*", *Nils Eide*.

Whereas Erasmus in his interpretation of the Bible assumed the *obscuritas Scripturae*, Luther extols in his writing *Of the Bondage of the Will* the *claritas Scripturae* which rests in Jesus Christ.

"Etterkonsekrasjonen nok en gang", *Bjarne Skard*, and

"Replik om etterkonsekrasjonen", *Carl Fr. Wisløff*.

The discussion begun in the previous year is carried further here. It deals with "genuine" and "artificial" consequences of the Reformation understanding of consecration for present-day celebration of the Lord's Supper ("post-consecration").

"Til forstaelse av Qohaelaet", *Magne Saebø*.

Here new light is thrown on the Qohélet question and a special treatment of the "moderation text" (7:15-20) is included.

"Emil Brunners forsoningslaere", *Mauritz Brøndal*.

A comprehensive critical presentation of Brunner's doctrine of atonement seeks to show that in various ways it is not in accord with the witness of the Bible and the church.

"Den svenska husförhållningens institution med särskild hänsyn till västsvenska förhållanden", *Ingmar Bogren*.

The author throws light upon one of the most interesting aspects of church instruction, pastoral practice and church discipline in Sweden: the practice of "house trials", controlled by canon law, which have been carried on since 1596. Occasionally they are still practiced today, especially on the west coast, where the influence of the orthodox pietistic evangelist, Henrik Schartau, is still felt.

"Werner Elerts teologiske livsverk", *Gottfried Hornig*.

The characteristic features of Elert's comprehensive theological life work are here presented with special stress on many points relevant to present-day northern theology.

"Grunnlinjer i den finske pietismes sjelesorg", *Marti Simojoki*.

The spiritual care of the "open door" type, which plays an important role in the pietistic character of Finnish Lutheranism, is there based on the insights of the Reformation concerning Law/Gospel, *sola fide*

*gratia, solus Christus*, whereby Christ is seen primarily as the now living and present and spiritually active Lord.

"Om presbyterianismen som konfesjonstype", O. G. Myklebust.

According to the author the basic theme of the presbyterian way of life is not "ago—ergo credo" but the opposite: "credo—ergo ago". The many-sided activity of this Anglo-Saxon-Calvinistic type of confession is presented under the themes: "Christian expansion", "Christian unity" and "Christian instruction".

NORSK TEOLOGISK TIDSSKRIFT. Editorial board: N. A. Dahl, R. Hauge, J. B. Hygen, A. S. Kapelrud, E. Molland, S. Mo-winckel. 57th year of publication. Publishers: Fabritius & Sønner, Oslo.

"Den antikke Jødenkristendom og Aposteldekretet", Einar Molland.

While, on the one hand, the Jewish Christians in spite of Acts 15 adhered to circumcision and the Law of Moses, and on the other hand Paul ignored the apostles' decree, and indeed the early Catholic church did not even understand it (the multiplicity of text variants!), an analysis of the Pseudoclementines proves that in the early second century, one Jewish-Christian group existed at least that recognized the decree and did not hold fast to circumcision.

H. Ludin Jansen presents—translated into Norwegian and commented on briefly—

Plotinus' IVth Ennead, 8th Book, a Carmen Nisibenum of Afrem Syrus and a letter of the Syrian mystic, Abraham bar Dasanad.

"Kjaerlighetsbudet id Johannesevangeliet", Alv Kragerud.

"A 'new' commandment I give to you", a commandment that had not been spoken of before (throughout the first twelve chapters of John). Jesus gives this commandment now (13:34 f.) in connection with his departure and the cross. I John, 2:7 looks back on this later as "old". The "newness" does not have to be seen, therefore, in contrast to the total pre-Christian era.

"Inttogshymne og engelsang; til kristologien i Lukas evangeliet", Alv Kragerud.

At the incarnation the angel choir sings the messianic hymn of acclamation: "Savior [peace] on earth" (Lk. 2:14; eirene/shalom = abstractum pro concreto, "salvation" [peace], that is, the person, "savior"). At his entry into Jerusalem the earthly choir of disciples responded with the messianic hymn of enthronement: "Savior [peace] in Heaven!" (19:38). This means an anticipation of Christ's exaltation (análempsis, 9:51 is equivalent to the basic theme of Luke's report of the journey; cf. Conzelmann).

"Romans 5:7", Ragnar Leivestad.

The author understands *molis* not in a negative sense ("hardly, scarcely"), but positively: "just, just about"; according to this interpretation, verse 7b confirms and comments on 7a; the "good" is equivalent to the "righteous".



